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Historical Remarks
ON THE
ANCIENT AND PRESENT STATE
OF THE
CITIES
OF
LONDON AND WESTMINSTER.

WITH
AN ACCOUNT OF THE MOST CONSIDERABLE
Occurrences, Revolutions and Transactions,
AS TO
WARS, FIRES, PLAGUES, &c.
WHICH HAVE HAPPENED IN AND ABOUT THESE CITIES FOR ABOVE NINE
HUNDRED YEARS PAST, TILL THE YEAR 1681.

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BY **RICHARD BURTON.**  
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HISTORICAL REMARKS

OF

LONDON AND WESTMINSTER.



ENGLAND in the time of the Saxons was divided into an Heptarchy, or seven kingdoms, in the year after Christ 527. One of these kingdoms contained Essex and Middlesex, and continued about 281 years, during the reign of fourteen kings, the third of whom was Sebert, who first built the cathedral of St. Paul, London, which had formerly been the temple of Diana. The ninth king was Sebba, who after thirty years of a peaceable reign, relinquished the Crown, and took upon him a religious habit in the monastery of St. Paul, London, where dying, his body was intombed in a coffin of grey marble, and stood in the north wall of the chancel of that Church, till the dreadful fire in 1666.

About the year 872, the Danes invaded this kingdom, and got into London, making great spoil, upon which King Alfred who then reigned, compounded with them, allowing them a great quantity of land to secure the rest from plunder, and ruin; for we find these words, in the end of the Laws published by this King, "Let the bounds of our dominions stretch from the River Thames, and from thence to the Vale of Lea, even unto the head of the same Water, and so forth straight unto Bedford, and finally going along by the River of Ouse, let them end at Watling Street." But so far were the Danes from being satisfied, that they usurped daily upon other places, and infested all the country, insomuch that this undaunted King Alfred, was many times brought to such extremity, that he was forced to hide himself in the fens and marshes, and with his small company to live by fishing, fowling and hunting

of wild beasts for food; and being one time entertained alone in a countryman's house, disguised in a very mean attire, as he was sitting by the fire, a cake was baking on the hearth before him; but the King being very intent in trimming his bow and arrows, the countrywoman coming in, and seeing the cake burn, she furiously took the bow from him, and checking him as her slave, said, thou fellow, dost thou see the bread burn before thy face, and wilt thou not turn it, and yet mayest be glad to eat it before it be half baked? little suspecting him to be the man that used to be treated with more dainty food.

This worthy King Alfred more minding the benefit of his subjects than the majesty of state, disguised himself in the habit of a common harper, and went in person to the Dane's camp, who lay wallowing in wantonness and security; and being a very skilful musician, and poet, he added his voice thereto, singing songs of the valour of the Danes, whereby he had admittance into the company and banquets of their chief commanders and princes; and observing their carelessness and negligence, and understanding likewise their designs, he returns to his own poor soldiers, and tells them how easy it was to surprise their enemies, and thereby recover their ruined country: they being encouraged with the news, immediately fell upon the Danes in their camp, and made a very great slaughter; and pursuing their victory, they beat the Danes in all places, and at last followed them to London, from whence upon his approach, all the Danes fled like wolves before lions. The inhabitants were very glad to see the face of their King, and he restored the city to its former liberty and splendor again, the Dains making their escape by shipping into France.

In the year 982, the Danes again invade England, and destroyed all places near the shore. Etheldred was then King, whose elder brother (called the Martyr) was treacherously murdered by the procurement of his mother-in-law; for the King being a hunting in the Isle of Purbeck, went alone out of kindness to see his mother-in-law and brother, who dwelt hard by, where this cruel woman, out of ambition to bring her son to the crown, caused one to run him into the back with a knife, as he was drinking a cup of wine on horseback at his departing, who feeling himself hurt set spurs to his horse, thinking thereby to get to his company, but the wound being mortal, and he fainting through loss of much blood, fell from his horse; but one foot being entangled in the stirrup, he was thereby dragged up and down through woods, and lands, in a most lamentable manner, and afterwards found dead, and was buried in the minster at Shaftesbury.

Etheldred was then crowned King by Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury (though against his will.) For at his coronation, Dunstan in a prophetic spirit, denounced the wrath and indignation of God against the King in these words; because, saith he, thou hast aspired to the crown, by the death of thy brother, whom thy Mother hath murdered, therefore hear the word of the Lord. The sword shall not depart from thy house, but shall furiously rage all the days of thy life, killing thy seed till such times as thy kingdom shall be given to a people whose customs and language the nation thou now governest, know not. Neither shall thy sin, the sin of thy mother, nor the sins of those men who were partakers of her councils, and instruments of her wicked designs, be expiated and appeased, but by a long and most severe vengeance.

Which prediction was seconded by prodigies; for it is said, that a cloud of blood and fire appeared after his coronation; likewise by the disastrous and miserable calamities that fell upon him and his house. This King was neither forward in action, nor fortunate in any of his undertakings, so that he was called, The Unready; he spent his youth in debauchery and folly, his middle age in carelessness, and neglect of his Government, maintaining dissensions and quarrels amongst his own subjects; and his latter end in constant resistance of the blood-thirsty Danes, who made continual havoc and destruction of his people and country (who had been quiet for twenty-two years before,) and therefore all these calamities were imputed to the misgovernment of this unhappy Prince.

The Danes perceiving the hearts of the subjects to be drawn from their sovereign, take the advantage, and landed in Kent with seven ships, spoiling all the country in one part or other. This they continued for eleven years together, till at last the King, by advice of his lords, paid them ten thousand pounds, upon condition they should quit the realm: this served for the present, but they returned year after year, and still obliged the King to give them more money yearly, till at last it came to forty thousand pounds a year, which emptied the land of all the coin, and the English were forced to plough, and sow, while the Danes sat idle, and eat the fruit of their labours, abusing their wives and daughters, whereupon they were called Lord Danes, (now Lurdains, signifying a lazy lubber.)

In this distressed state, the King thought of this expedient to be rid of them: he sent out several orders and commissions into every city in his dominions, that at an appointed time they should massacre all the Danes that were amongst them. The day was November 13,

1002. His command was accordingly performed, and that with such rigour, that in Oxford the fearful Danes, for refuge took into the church of St. Frideswide, as into a sanctuary of venerable antiquity; but they in fury, regarding neither place nor person, set the church on fire, wherein many Danes were burnt with divers rich ornaments, and the library thereof utterly defaced.

At which time, it is said, King Etheldred himself was in Oxford, and had summoned a Parliament both of English and Danes to meet there, and he afterwards repaired the ruins the fire had made. In this massacre the Lady Gunhild, sister to the King of Denmark, and a continual friend to the English, with her husband and son were slain. Upon the news of this massacre, King Swain with a great navy of Danes, land in several parts of England, and carries all before him: and other Danes with ninety-four ships sailed up the River Thames, and besieged London, and gave it a brisk assault, but the Londoners made such a valiant resistance, that they forced them to retire; but however they fell very severely upon Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire.

These calamities were seconded with others as fearful; for about this time, the city of London was miserably destroyed, and defaced by fire whose beauty then chiefly extended from Ludgate, westward; for that within the walls, where the heart of the city now is, was then neither beautiful nor orderly built.

And to add to these miseries, there was a dreadful sickness raging in London, and most parts of England, which was hitherto unknown in this kingdom, which was a high burning fever, and the bloody flux; there was also great scarcity of victuals, by reason of an extraordinary murrain, and death of all sorts of cattle; and all these judgments were imputed to the King, and his abettors, Dunstan prophecying further woes to the land after his death. Though the King made great lamentation for the death of his brother King Edward, for which his Mother beat him so violently with a wax taper which stood before her, that he could never after well endure the sight of a taper.

In the year 1013, King Swain came again from Denmark, landing a great number of men in the River Humber, and conquered all before him till he came to London, and presently begirt the walls with a close siege (King Etheldred being within) though Swain doubted not of carrying the city, yet he was much mistaken; for the citizens, considering that they had the presence of their King with them, and that London was the eye of the land, grew thereupon very bold and

courageous, beating the Danes from the walls, and then sallying out upon them, slew them on heaps, so that King Swain himself was in great danger had he not desperately ran through the midst of his enemies' swords, and by flight escaped, marching day and night in great fear till he had got to the city of Bath; where Ethelmere Earl of Devonshire, and his people submitted themselves to him; but this last overthrow, and want of victuals, caused him after he had received a sum of money to hasten into Denmark, intending to return with greater strength, which accordingly he did, and meeting with the English utterly defeated them by reason of the treachery of some English who revolted to the Danes; so that the whole kingdom submitted to them, and London was likewise forced to comply with the calamity of the times, wherewith unfortunate Etheldred being utterly dejected, sent his Wife Emma, and his two sons, to his brother Richard Duke of Normandy; and went himself into one of his ships at Greenwich and from thence to the Isle of Wight, where after he had staid some time, he likewise sailed into Normandy to his brother, leaving the Danes sole masters of the realm.

Awhile after King Swain coming to St. Edmondsbury in Suffolk, threatened to burn down the Church there, unless they would give him a great sum of money (having done the like in several places) which the inhabitants refusing to pay, he went to disturb the bones of St. Edmund (so called) which while he was doing, he suddenly cried out (saith the Historian) that, he was struck by St. Edmund with a sword, being then in the midst of his nobles, and no man seeing from whose hand it came; and so with great horror he three days after ended his life; but with his death died not the title of the Danes, who immediately advanced Canutus the son, for their King.

Soon after King Etheldred died also, and his third son called Edmund Ironside (of his ability in enduring labour) succeeded; a great part of the English both feared and favoured Canutus, and indeed out of fear favoured him, especially the Clergy, who at Southampton ordained him their King, and swore fealty to him.

But the Londoners stood firm to Prince Edmund, and were the principal authors of his election to be King; in revenge whereof Canutus who had besieged the city before the death of King Etheldred, caused his ships now to be rowed and drawn up the Thames to the east side of the bridge, and from the River with a deep and long trench encompassed the city, shutting up all the passages in or out of it.

But the citizens made valiant resistance, to which the coming of their new King Edmund to their assistance, did much encourage them and disheartened the Danes, so that they now thought it best to break up the siege and be gone. And the sooner, because King Edmund had sent a peremptory challenge to Canutus, to meet and fight him in single combat; which he neither accepted, nor staid to try the fortune of the seige of London, but presently sailed down the Thames to the Isle of Sheppey, where he wintered with his navy and men. And in the spring he assailed the West of England, where the Danes were routed.

After this at a place called Sherostan in Worcestershire, another battle was fought, where the Danes were like again to have been discomfited; which Edrick (an Englishman, but a traitor) perceiving, he cut off the head of a soldier, whose name was Osmearus, who was like King Edmund both in hair and countenance, and shaking his bloody sword with the gasping head, cryed out to the English Army, fly, fly, ye wretches fly, and get away, for your King is slain, behold here is his head, therefore seek now to save your own lives.

But Edmund having notice of this treacherous stratagem, hasted to shew himself where he might be seen; whose sight so encouraged his men, that they had gotten that day a total victory, if night had not prevented them. The soldiers bent their bows against Duke Edrick, and had shot him to death, had he not avoided them. But Edrick excused the fact, as being mistaken in the countenance of the man, and desirous to save the blood of the English; upon which false pretence he was taken into favour again.

Three days afterward both armies prepared again for battle, yet stood still without any skirmishing, only refreshing their wearied and tired bodies, and burying those that were slain in the two days before. The night following Canutus in great silence brake up his camp, and marched with all speed to the city of London, he having conceived very great displeasure against the citizens thereof, and desiring earnestly to conquer that place, which was in a manner already besieged by the Danish ships. Next morning the centinels gave notice to King Edmund, who was preparing himself to battle, that his enemies were suddenly marched away: whereupon Edmund followed them with all speed, to prevent their designs, and soon arrived at London, where with little difficulty he raised the seige, and entered the city in a triumphant manner.

The Danes being thus discomfited, there was great hope of further success, and Edmund taking advantage of their fear, fell upon them

two days after at Brainford, and routed them with a great slaughter, (though in passing the Thames there, he lost many of his men, who was drowned before they could get ashore.) Upon this loss, the traitor Edrick fearing the ruin of the Danes, persuaded his brother-in-law King Edmund to come to a truce with Canutus, who kept it only so long till he had increased his forces, and then another battle was fought, wherein it is reported that Canutus lost four thousand five hundred men, and King Edmund only six hundred. But Canutus a while after recruiting his army, Edmund marched toward him, who lay at Ashdone three miles from Saffron Walden in Essex, where a bloody fight ensued, and at first the victory seemed doubtful on either side, till at last the Danes began to retreat; which the ever traitorous Edrick perceiving, he with all his forces revolted to the Danes; whereby they clearly got the day, and the poor betrayed English were utterly overthrown.

There were slain of Edmund's Nobility, Duke Alfred, Duke Godwin, Duke Athelward, Duke Athelwin, and Earl Urcil, with Cadnoth Bishop of Lincoln, and Wolsey Abbot of Ramsey, with several other of the Clergy, who came thither to pray for the preservation and good success of King Edmund and his army. There are some signs of this battle in that field to this very day, divers small hills still remaining there, from whence have been digged the bones of men, armour, and the chains of horses' bridles.

King Edmund being thus treacherously forced to quit the field, marched on foot into Gloucester with a very small army, leaving Canutus flushed with victory, who marched to London, and forced the city to submit to him, as well as many other great towns. After which he followed Edmund in the west, who seeking nothing but revenge, and had again raised a very considerable army, resolving at once to try the utmost of his fortune. The armies met with a full resolution to establish one, by the ruin of the other. But a Captain in King Edmund's army proposed, that for preventing bloodshed, the two kings only should fight in single combat, it chiefly concerning them, or else divide the kingdom between them.

Whereupon it was agreed, that they should try their fortune: and the two kings in sight of both their armies, went into a small Island called Alney near Gloucester, encompassed with the River Severn, and being compleatly armed, they first assaulted each other very stoutly on horse-back, and afterward on foot. But Edmund was strong, and fought for a kingdom; Canutus for honor: and the combat seemed indifferent equal, till Canutus having received a dangerous

wound, and finding himself overmatched in strength, desired to treat, and spake thus to Edmund.

What necessity is there (most valiant Prince) that me, for obtaining a title, should thus endanger our lives. It were better to lay malice and our armour aside, and condescend to a loving agreement, let us now therefore become sworn brothers, and divide the Kingdom between us, and keep such amity, that we may both use the others share as if it were his own, so shall this land be peaceably governed, and we jointly assist each others necessity.

Upon this speech they both cast down their swords, and embraced as friends, to the great joy and rejoicing of both armies, who stood doubtfully wavering before, betwixt hope and fear, as expecting their own fortunes according to the success of their champions. Thus was the kingdom divided between these two princes, Edmund enjoying the west part toward the Coast of France, and Canutus the rest. And thus was the Saxon Monarchy come to its last period, and the tottering Crown was soon after torn from Edmund's head: for Duke Edrick, a traitor in grain, being much in favor with both kings, yet to oblige Canutus, contrived the death of renowned Edmund, who going into a place of easement, was suddenly thrust from under the vault into the body with a sharp spear; which being done, the villain Edrick cut off his sovereign's head, and presented it to Canutus with this flattering salutation, All hail thou now sole Monarch of England, for here behold the head of thy copartner, which for thy sake I have adventured to cut off.

Canutus, though ambitious enough of sovereignty, yet being of a Princely temper, he was much astonished at this base and treacherous act, and vowed, that in reward of that service the bringer's head should be advanced above all the peers of his kingdom. Which high honor, while this prodigious wretch greedily expected (and indeed for some time, saith our author, he had some shew of favour from the King) he suddenly by the King's command had his head struck off, and placed upon the highest gate of London, to overlook that great city.

Canutus being possessed of half the kingdom by composition with Edmund, now after his death seized the whole, and that all things, as was pretended, might proceed with justice and concord, he called a council of the English Nobility at London, wherein it was demanded, whether in the agreement between Edmund and him, any claim or title to the crown had been reserved for King Edmund's brethren, or his sons. The English, who had paid dear for resisting the Danes

hitherto, and being afraid to provoke him, absolutely answered, no. And knowing that princes are generally appeased with flattery, they offered themselves the oath of allegiance to Canutus, who being a very wise and politick prince, had not a better opinion of them for their fawning; rightfully judging, that those who were false to their natural prince, would never be true to him, nor his posterity, who were foreigners.

Canutus being thus freed from all opposites, was crowned King of England at London, in 1017, by Elstane Archbishop of Canterbury, being the second King of Denmark of that name, and the first of England, and the thirty-fourth Monarch of this land.

King Canutus dying, left the kingdom of Norway to his eldest son Swain, and England to his youngest, called Hardycanute, who being at that time in Denmark, Herold his eldest brother by a former wife, taking advantage of his absence, laid claim to the Crown, and enjoyed it four years, having neither wife nor child.

After his death the English as well as Danes who had been for Harold, thought it best to send for Hardycanute and offer him the crown; who soon after came to London in great state, and was there proclaimed King of England, and crowned. He spent his reign in nothing but doing ill. For no sooner had he power to command, but he ordered the body of his brother the deceased King Harold to be taken out of his grave, and disgracefully thrown into the river Thames, where it remained till a fisherman found it, and buried it in the church yard of St. Clement, commonly called St. Clement Danes, because, says some, it was the burying place for that nation.

This Hardycanute altogether neglected his government, delighting in nothing but eating and drinking to excess, having his tables spread with fresh victuals four times every day, which caused all manner of debauchery to reign among his subjects by his evil example, since it is natural for people to imitate the vices of their Sovereign. He died suddenly at the celebration of a marriage at Lambeth near London: for while he was revelling and carousing in the midst of his cups, he suddenly fell down, without speech or breath; whose loss was little lamented by reason of his riot and excess, and the severe taxes he laid upon the people for maintaining his extravagances; yea, so far were any from bewailing him, that in remembrance of their freedom from the Danish yoke, he being the last King of the Danes, the common people for a long time after, celebrated the day of his death, which was the eighth of June, with open pastimes in the streets (as the Romans formerly kept their Fugalia,

for chasing out their Kings) which time is called Hocktide, or Heux-tide; signifying a time of scorning and contempt, which fell upon the Danes by his death.

Edward III. of that name, before the conquest, half-brother to the deceased Hardy Canute, and son to King Ethelred, by Queen Emma his wife, succeeded him, and was called Edward the Confessor, between whom and Godwin, Earl of Kent, there happened such differences, that they raised forces against each other, and fitted out divers ships. King Edward appointed sixty ships for a guard to the Thames-mouth; but Godwin being a man of very great authority, solicited the people of Kent, Sussex, and Surry, to his aid, and entering the Thames with his ships, invited the Londoners to join with him, which they accordingly did, though King Edward were in the city; so that without resistance, his navy came up with the tide to the south end of London Bridge, and a very great army attended to aid him on Southwark side. The nobility observing the people to be divided into parties, and one Englishman ready to destroy another, they so prevailed with King Edward and Godwin, that they made a reconciliation between them, and pledges were delivered for the true performance of the agreement.

About this time, that is, in 1047, there fell a very great snow in January, which covered the ground to the middle of March, so that most of the cattle and fowl perished; and the year following a strange and terrible earthquake happened, which seemed to rend the earth asunder, and such lightnings withall, as burnt up the corn growing in the fields, whereby an extraordinary dearth and famine followed.

In the Year 1066, William the Conqueror landed at Pensey in Sussex, and immediately sent a messenger to King Harold at London, whereby he claimed no less than the Crown of England, upon pretence of a donation from King Edward, deceased: and required that Harold should be a vassal to him. The messenger urged the same with so much confidence, that Harold in his fury could hardly forbear (though against the law of arms) to lay violent hands on the ambassador. And thereupon he returns a threatening message to William to depart immediately back into Normandy at his utmost peril. He then proceeds to muster his forces, which were not so many as he expected, though divers noblemen, gentlemen and others, who were inflamed with the love of the rights and liberties of their native country, joined with him to keep out this dangerous foreigner.

However, King Harold with an undaunted courage, led his men into Sussex, against the earnest intreaty of his mother, who endeavoured

to hinder him, and pitching his tents in a large fair plain, not above seven miles from the enemy, he sent forth his spies for discovery, who being taken by Duke William, he ordered that they should view all his tents, and then sent them safely back to Harold. They commended William's clemency, and his great strength, but told Harold, that they thought all his army were priests, for their beards were all shaved; whereas the use of the English was then to reserve the hair of the upper lip without cutting.

King Harold replied, they were no priests, but men of great courage and valour, to his knowledge: he having been formerly in that country. Harold was thereupon persuaded not to venture himself in the battle, but to go on to levy more soldiers. And his brother told him that William charged him that he had taken an oath to settle him in the throne; and, said he, thou knowest what oath thine own mouth hath made unto William, if it were lawful, and thou took it willingly, withdraw thyself out of the field, lest for thy great sin, the whole army be destroyed, for there is no power that can resist God. But Harold reproved his Brother for his freedom, and disdainfully undervalued the strength of the Normans, and seemed to conceive that nothing which he did, being a private man, could now bind him when he was a prince.

Duke William being now come into the field, and both armies facing each other, as ready for battle; to spare the effusion of christian blood, he sent a monk as mediator for peace, offering Harold either to resign the kingdom to himself, and acknowledge him his sovereign, or to try the quarrel in single battle, in the sight of both armies: or lastly, to stand to the arbitration of the Pope, who should wear the English crown. But Harold being destined to destruction, would neither accept the counsels of his friends, nor the offers of his enemies, but referred the decision to Heaven, saying; that it should be tried the next day with more swords than one.

Next day was the 14th of October, which upon a credulous error he always held to be fortunate to him, it being his birth day, and therefore he greatly desired to engage in fight. His soldiers likewise dreaming of nothing but spoil and victory, and that their heads should be crowned with laurel, spent the preceding night in all manner of jollity, banquetting, revelling, and noise; whereas on the contrary, the Normans wisely and seriously considering the great importance of the work they were to engage in, applied themselves to their prayers and vows for the safety of their army, and its victorious success. And in

the morning as soon as it was light, they were all in battle array, and ready prepared to fight.

Harold likewise with all expedition marshalled his soldiers, placing the Kentish men in the van (according to an ancient custom) with their heavy axes and halberts, the London and Middlesex men were in that squadron which he and his brother led.

The Normans advancing forward, discharged a fierce volley of arrows, like a tempestuous hail, which was a kind of weapon the English never understood, and therefore thought their enemies had been in the midst of them already. Soon after, the battle began in earnest. King Harold, like an expert general, had placed his men in so firm a body, that no force of the Normans could disorder their ranks, until Duke William used a stratagem, commanding his men to sound a retreat, and counterfeit flight, though he still kept them in good order. The English supposing the Normans to have been fled, and themselves masters of the field, carelessly broke their ranks, when suddenly the Normans came on again, and fell upon them before they could put themselves in a posture for defence, whereby multitudes of them were slain on every side, not being able to make head again.

Yet did not the English leave the field, but resolved rather to maintain their honour in arms, and casting themselves in a round, they preferred dying for their country, rather than to forsake the standard of their King, and thereupon encouraging one another, they made resistance for a long time, but showers of arrows, like a mighty storm, falling among them, one of them most fatally, and unhappily for the English nation, wounded King Harold into the brains through the left eye; so that falling from his horse, he was slain under his own standard, and an ambush of horsemen cut many others to pieces.

Duke William fought so valiantly, that he had this day three horses slain under him, and King Harold shewed no less courage, in killing many Normans with his own hands. The mother of Harold named Thyra, offered a great sum of money for the King's body, which falling among such a multitude (it being reckoned that there died about threescore thousand men that day) it could by no means be found, for it was despoiled of all its royal ornaments by the plundering soldiers: so that King Harold lying stript, wounded, bemangled, and gored in his blood, could not be known from another man, till a lady named Editha was sent for, who for her extraordinary beauty was called Swan's Neck; she having been very familiar with him before he was King, knew some secret mark in his body, by which she discovered

him. After which the Duke freely delivered it to his mother, and it was buried in Waltham Abbey.

This battle was fought October 14, 1066, a doleful day of destruction to the English, when the royal blood of the Saxons perished, who first divided this land into seven Kingdoms, and afterwards made of them one glorious monarchy, not inferior to any in Europe; and whose kings for valour and magnanimity, were ranked with the greatest in the world. But the over-ruling providence of Heaven, which sets up and pulls down at pleasure, was pleased at this time, for the sins of the English, or some other cause unknown to us, to put the scepter into the hands of another family, and another nation.

Morcar and Edwin, brethren to the unfortunate Queen, escaped by night out of the battle, and came to London, where consulting with the rest of the lords, they began to revive their hopes, and posted messengers from thence to raise new forces. And because the English were struck into a dreadful astonishment at the news of this great loss, they, to keep them from despair, sent them word, that the chance of war was uncertain, the number of the English yet many, and there were commanders enough left to try another battle. Alfred, archbishop of York, being president of the assembly, very courageously and prudently advised, that they should immediately proclaim and crown Edgar Atheling the true heir for their King; to which the Londoners and divers sea captains agreed. But the Queen's brethren, and likewise the Earls of Yorkshire and Cheshire, being themselves ambitious of the crown, thought their country was in such a deplorable condition, hindered this wise and noble design.

In the twentieth year of William the Conqueror, there happened so great a fire in London, that from the west gate to the east, it consumed houses and churches all the way, and among the rest St. Paul's, as much as was combustible was burnt to ashes, and most of the principal cities in England were much damaged by fire. Other great calamities likewise happened, as burning fevers, murrains upon cattle, abundance of rain, and water-floods, insomuch that the hills seemed to be softened to the very foundation, and with their fall overwhelmed many villages, there was likewise such a dearth in London and England, that men eat horses, cats, dogs, and man's flesh.

In 1077, upon Palm Sunday about noon, a blazing star appeared nigh the sun; yea, which is strange, tame fowls, such as hens, geese, peacocks, and the like, fled into forests and woods, and became wild. There was likewise a great frost, which lasted from the middle of

November to the middle of March. There was also a great wind on Christmas day, accompanied with a terrible earthquake.

This King William seized all the lands between Barnet and Londonstone, which belonged to the Abbey of St. Albans; and also all the treasure, chalices, and shrines of all the abbeys and monasteries in England. He likewise laid great taxes upon the land, and caused an exact survey to be taken of the whole kingdom: so that he knew the value of all the rents and profits of the lands, and likewise of all cities, towns, villages, hamlets, monasteries, and religious houses, causing all the people in England to be numbered, and their names taken, with an account of what every one could spend in the year. After which he exacted six shillings upon every hide of land, which amounted to a vast sum of money. The book which contained this actual survey, was called by the English Doomsday-book, and is kept to this day in the King's Exchequer at Westminster. Yet he was kind to the Londoners, suffering them to enjoy their rights and privileges which they had in Edward the Confessor's time, by the procurement of William, Bishop of London, who was buried in St. Paul's church, and this epitaph put upon his grave-stone in Latin and English :

To William, a man famous in wisdom, and holiness of life, who first with St. Edward, the King and Confessor, being familiar, of late preferred to be Bishop of London, and not long after (for his prudence and sincere fidelity) admitted to be of council with the most victorious Prince William, King of England, of that name the first, who obtained of the same, great and large privileges to this famous city. The senate and citizens of London, of him having well deserved have made this. He continued bishop twenty years, and died in the year of Christ's nativity, 1070.

These marble monuments to thee
 Thy citizens assign,
 Rewards, O Father, far unfit
 To those deserts of thine;
 Thee unto them a faithful friend
 Thy London people found,
 And to this town (of no small weight)
 A stay both sure and sound;
 Their liberties restored to them,
 By means of thee have been.
 Their public weal by means of thee
 Large gifts have felt and found,

The riches, stock, and beauty brave,
 One hour hath them suppress'd;
 Yet these thy virtues and good deeds,
 With us for ever rest.

The Lord Mayor of London and Aldermen, upon the day of his coming into his office, used till of late days, to walk round the grave-stone of this bishop, in remembrance of their former privileges obtained by him. And there was an inscription fastened to a pillar near his grave, entitled, "The Recital of a most worthy Prelate's Remembrance," which was erected at the charge of Sir Edward Barkham, Lord Mayor, 1622; which speaks thus to the walkers in St. Paul's.

Walkers, whosoe're you be,
 If it prove your chance to see,
 Upon a solemn scarlet day,
 The City Senate pass this way,
 Their grateful memory to shew,
 Which they the reverend ashes owe,
 Of Bishop Norman, here inhum'd,
 By which this city hath assum'd
 Large privileges; those obtain'd
 By him; when Conqueror William reign'd.
 This being by Barkham's thankful mind renew'd,
 Call it "The Monument of Gratitude."

King William brought with him from Roan in Normandy, certain Jews, whose posterity inhabiting in London, and several other chief cities; they were accused that they used to steal Christian male children from their neighbours, which they would circumcise, crown with thorns, whip, torture, and crucify, in mockery of our Lord Jesus Christ.

William Rufus his son, appointed a disputation to be held in London, between the Christians and the Jews, but before the day came, the Jews brought the King a present, to the end they might be heard impartially; the King received their gift, encouraging them to quit themselves like men, and swore by St. Luke's face, (his usual oath) That if they prevailed in disputation, he would himself turn Jew and be of their religion. A young Jew was at that time converted to the Christian faith, whose father being much troubled at it, he presented the King with threescore marks, intreating him to persuade his son to

return to his Judaism, whereupon the King sent for his son, and commanded him without more ado to return to the religion of his nation. But the young man answered, he wondered His Majesty would use such words, for being a Christian, he should rather persuade him to christianity, with which answer the King was so confounded, that he commanded the young man out of his presence; but his father finding the King could do no good upon his son, required his money again, nay, (saith the King) I have taken pains enough for us, and yet that thou mayest see how kindly I will deal, you shall have one half, and you cannot in confidence deny me the other half, and so dismissed him. And now, as we are treating on the Jews, it may not be amiss to add all at once, what we read concerning them in this city.

In the year 1235, the nineteenth year of Henry III. seven Jews were brought before the King at Westminster, who had stolen a boy, and kept him private from the sight of any, but their own Nation, for a whole year, and had circumcised him, intending also to have crucified him at the solemnity of Easter, as they themselves confessed before the King, upon which they were convicted, and their bodies and goods remained at the King's pleasure. In the thirty-ninth year of this King, November 29, 102 Jews were brought from Lincoln to Westminster, and there accused for crucifying a child of eight years old, named Hugh. These Jews were upon examination sent to the Tower of London; the murder being discovered by the diligent search of the mother of the child; upon which eighteen of them were hanged and the other remained long in prison.

In the reign of Henry II. the number of Jews throughout England was very great, yet wheresoever they dwelt, they were commanded not to bury their dead any where but in London, which being many times inconvenient to bring dead bodies from remote places, the King gave them liberty to bury in the same place where they lived. In the year 1189, at the coronation of Richard I. son of Henry II. at Westminster, a great disaster befel the Jews, for King Richard not favoring them as his father had done, had given a strict charge that no Jew should be a spectator of the solemnity, yet several Jews (as though it had been the crowning of King Herod) would needs be pressing in, and the officers appointed refusing they should enter, there arose a quarrel, which proceeded from words to blows, whereby many Jews were hurt, and some slain; and thereupon a report was suddenly spread abroad, that the King had commanded to have all the Jews destroyed; upon which it is incredible what rifling there was in an instant, of the Jews houses, and cutting their throats, and though the King signified by

public declaration, that he was highly displeased with what was done, yet there was no quieting of the multitude till next day; and many of the mutineers were afterwards punished by the law.

In the reign of King John, 1202, great sums of money were exacted and gathered from the Jews, among whom there was one who would not pay the money charged upon him till the King caused one of his great teeth to be pulled out every day for seven days together, upon which he was at last compelled to give the King 10,000 marks of silver, that no more might be pulled out, since he had but one left in his head.

King Henry III. being very profuse, was brought so low for want of money, that he was forced to borrow, nay almost beg it of his subjects; but the Jews who were ever exposed to his will, felt the weight of his necessities, and one Abraham, a Jew, in London, being found a delinquent, was constrained to redeem himself for 700 marks. And Aaron, another Jew, protested, the King since his last being in France, had taken from him at several times, 30,000 marks of silver, besides 200 marks of gold given to the Queen.

At another time this King Henry squeezed a sum out of the Jews, and then let them out to farm to his brother Richard, for a considerable sum, which he paid him, and he was to make what more of them he could; he likewise built a church for converted Jews in London. It happened about this time, that a Jew fell into an house of office, upon Saturday, and would not be taken out on that day because it was the Jews' Sabbath; whereupon the Earl of Gloucester said, he should not then be taken out on the Sunday, because it was the Christian Sabbath, so that when Monday came he was taken out dead.

In the seventh year of Edward I. the Jews at Northampton crucified a Christian boy upon Good-Friday, but did not thoroughly kill him, for which fact many Jews at London, were after Easter drawn at the horse's tail, and hanged. The same year King Edward called in all the old money, and coined new, because it had been much clipped and defaced by the Jews, for which 297 were at one time executed in London. And in the eighteenth year of his reign, all the Jews were banished out of London and England, there being at that time above fifteen thousand in the kingdom, who had all their goods seized and confiscated to the King's use, and only so much money left them as would bear their charges out of the kingdom. But before this, he ordained that the Jews should wear a mark or cognizance upon their upper garments, whereby to be known, and restrained their excessive taking of usury.

In the year 1656, several proposals were made to Oliver Cromwel by Menasseh Ben Israel, a Jewish merchant, in behalf of the Hebrew nation, for their free admission to trade, and exercise their religion in



MENASSAH BEN ISRAEL.

England; and a conference was held about it at several days at Whitehall, by divers members of the council, and certain ministers of the most eminent then in esteem, and many arguments were urged, some for, and others against their admission; but those that were against it, so far prevailed, that the proposals took no effect.

And so much concerning the Jews. To return now to the series of the story, King William Rufus was taxed with great prodigality, because when his chamberlain brought him a new pair of hose, he asked what they cost, and was told three shillings; away base fellow, quoth he, are these besecming a King? bring me a pair of a mark. His chamberlain went, and bringing him another pair, not so good as the former, and telling him they cost a mark, I marry, (saith the King) these are something like; and was better satisfied with hearing what

they cost, than with seeing what they were worth, and yet this was no disrepute to his wisdom; for to say truth, it is no defect of wisdom in a King, not to know what his cloaths are worth.

And though the Monks that wrote in those times, charge this King with covetousness, yet by the following instance it doth not appear. For when two Monks came to court, and offered large gifts to out-vie each other, in obtaining an abbot's place, lately dead, a third monk, who was very sober and mean in attire, came with them and stood by, whom the King asked, what he would give to be abbot: Nothing (said the Monk) for I entered my profession to be poor, and have hitherto little esteemed the pomp and riches of the world. Then thou art the man (replied the King) and art more worthy to be their abbot for thy poverty, than they for their presents; and conferring the place upon him, checked the others.

But however there arose a great difference between him and Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, because he required the bishop to give him a thousand marks for preferring him to that See, which Anselm refused to give, as judging it no less right to give after the preferment than before; but yet afterward offering five hundred pound, the King refused to accept it, as being worth (he said) five times as much. Whereupon Anselm told him, your Grace may have me, and all that is mine, to serve your turn in a friendly manner; but in the way of servitude and bondage, you shall neither have me nor mine: These words so enraged the King, that they could never after be reconciled. Anselm often threatened to go to Rome; the King told him plainly, he would not thrust him out of the realm, but if he would go without his leave, he would keep him out during his pleasure; and besides he should carry nothing out of the kingdom with him. Yet Anselm ventured it, and the King performed it; for William Walwerst was sent to rifle him of all he had in his passage to Sea; neither was he suffered to return as long as the King lived: during all which time the King took the profits of his bishoprick to his own use.

This King enlarged the Tower of London, and compassed it with new walls; he also built the great hall at Westminster, being 270 foot in length, and 74 in breadth; but thinking it too little, he intended to have built another hall, which should have reached from the Thames to King-street.

In the fourth year of his reign, on St. Luke's day, so great a tempest of wind happened, that above six hundred houses in London were thrown down therewith, and the roof of St. Mary-le-Bow Church in Cheapside was blown off, which with the beams were carried into the

air a great heighth, and in the fall six of the beams, being 27 feet long, were driven so deep into the ground (the streets not being then paved with stone) that not above four foot remained in sight, and yet stood in such rank and order, as the workmen had placed them on the church.

In the ninth year of his reign, a blazing star appeared, with two bushes or tails, and other stars seemed to shoot darts at each other. The last of his reign, the sea breaking over its banks, destroyed a multitude of people, and overwhelmed the lands for sometime of Earl Goodwin, in Kent, which are yet called Goodwin's Sands; there was likewise a well that cast out blood instead of water for fifteen days together, and great flames of fire were seen at divers times and places. All which prodigies seemed to foretel the King's death approaching, for having kept his Christmas at Gloucester, his Easter at Winchester, and his Whitsuntide at Westminster, notwithstanding he was forewarned by many signs of some great disaster, as in his dream the night before, wherein it seemed to him that the veins of his arms were burst, and abundance of blood streaming on the floor. And of a certain monk who dreamed that he saw the King gnaw the image of a crucifix with his teeth, and that as he was about to bite away the legs of it, the crucifix with his feet spurned him down to the ground; and as he lay on the ground there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, with abundance of smoke; this last being told the King, he made a jest of it, saying, well, a monk he is, and he can dream only as monks do, that is for gain: so give him an hundred shillings, lest he think he hath dreamed unprofitably.

But though he had these warnings, yet the day after Lammas he would needs go a hunting in the New Forest, yet something resenting the many presages, he stayed within all the forenoon; about dinner time an artificer came, and brought him six cross-bow arrows, very strong and sharp, four whereof he kept himself, and the other two he delivered to S. Walter Tyrell, a knight of Normandy, his bow-bearer; saying, here Tyrell, take you two, for you know how to shoot them to purpose; and so having at dinner drank more liberally than his custom, as it were in contempt of prodigies, and presages, he rides out in the New Forest, where S. Walter Tyrell shooting at a deer, the arrow glanced against a tree, or as some say, grazed upon the back of the deer, and flying forward, struck the King in the breast, who hastily breaking off so much as stuck in his body, with one only groan fell down and died; of which sudden mischance his followers having notice, most of them went away, and those that remained, with much

ado, got his body put into a collier's cart, which being drawn with one lean horse through a very foul dirty way, the cart broke, and there lay the spectacle of wordly glory all besmeared with his own blood, and filthily bedaubed with mire, till he was conveyed to Winchester, where he was buried under a plain marble stone in the cathedral.

King Henry the 1st: his brother, and the youngest son of William the Conqueror, succeeded him, though his elder brother Robert Duke of Normandy was living; which caused great wars, and disturbance. In his time, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury being returned, called a council of the bishops at London, wherein he offended both the King and clergy, for he excommunicated all married priests, half the clergy of England at that time being either married, or the sons of married priests; and depending upon the Pope's assistance, he deprived many great prelates of their promotions, because they were invested in them by the king, but they refused to resign them, since they had them by the donation of their Sovereign, upon which Anselm thinking himself much wronged, appealed to the Pope, and went to Rome in person soon after.

The King likewise sent Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, and Robert Bishop of Litchfield, privy Counsellors, and William Warwast, his procurator, as Ambassadors to Rome, and the last being a clergyman of a bold and daring spirit, he in debating his Sovereign's cause before the Pope and Cardinals, with threatening language and countenance avouched, that the king his master would not lose his right in the investitures of the church, though he lost his kingdom, whereto Pope Paschal being upon his own dunghill, as stoutly answered, If thou sayest the King will not lose his donation of churches for the loss of his kingdom, know thou for certain, that before God, I will not suffer him to enjoy them without punishment, and will venture my head thereupon. But notwithstanding these great words against the King, yet the degraded abbots were restored again through the clemency of the Papal See, which is never wanting to any, as long as the white and red make intercession for them; as the monks own words were at that time.

Awhile after, Cardinal Cremensis came into England from the Pope, and calling a council in London upon the birth day of the blessed Virgin, he made a solemn oration in praise of virginity and chastity, and a terrible invective against married priests, affirming it to be no less than professed adultery. And to amplify their sin the more, he shewed what great impiety it was to rise from the bed of unlawful lust (for so he termed chaste marriage) and with polluted hands to

touch the sacrament of the body of Christ; yet but the very night following, this holy cardinal was found in bed with a common whore, having himself consecrated the host that very day; so that he returned to Rome with much shame and but little success in the intended matter. Yea, Anselm himself, the most earnest in favour of single life, did not it seems die a virgin, for else he would never in his writings make such lamentations for the loss thereof. Yet Anselm afterwards called another council at Westminster, where it was ordained, that priests should no longer be suffered to have wives, and that there should be no more selling and buying men in England, they being then sold like horses or oxen. Yet King Henry afterward suffered priests to have wives for fines, or rather took fines of them, whether they had wives or no, because they might have them if they would.

Duke Robert, ing found that prevail to settle to the kingdom, over to King both his duke and all differ-bates to his will but King Henry safed to speak least to make him in a sullen hu-away, and so scornful usage into such indig-resolved upon returning into ed a great ar-knowing Robert and considering called the lords don, and there with this plea-



DUKE ROBERT.

his brother, hav-force would not him in his right be himself came Henry, referring dom and himself ences and de-and pleasure; scarce vouch-to him, or at an answer, but mour turned left him; which put the Duke nation, that he revenge; and Normandy rais-my. But Henry to be a soldier, his own estate, together to Lon-tickled their ears sing speech.

My friends, faithful counsellors, and native countrymen, you know all undoubtedly, that my brother Robert was elected and called by God himself to be the fortunate King of Jerusalem, and how unfortunately, or rather insolently, he refused that sacred estate, whereby he is now most justly reprobated of God. You also know by many other

experiments, his pride and arrogances for being a man of a warlike humour, he is not only impatient of peace, but also earnestly desireth to trample upon you, as men of abject and contemptible dispositions, and upbraid you for idle drones, belly-gods, and what not? But I, your king, am naturally inclined to be both humble, and peaceable, and take delight in nothing more than in doing you good, and to maintain your tranquillity, and antient liberty (as I have often swore unto you) and meekly and willingly to yield myself to your advices, whereby I may circumspectly govern you as a clement prince. And to that end, even now, will I confirm (if your wisdom think fit) your over-worn and undetermined charters, and will corroborate them most firmly with a new oath and ratification. In the mean time all the laws which the holy King Edward, by God's inspiring did establish, I do here command to be inviolably observed, hereby to move you to adhere stedfastly unto me, in chearfully, willingly, and powerfully repulsing the wrongs offered me; by my brother shall I say? Nay, by the most deadly enemy, both to me, to you, and the whole nation. For if I be guarded with the valour and affections of Englishmen, I shall scorn the threats of him and his Normans, and count them vain and not to be regarded. With these fair promises (which yet he afterward quite neglected) he so won the hearts of the Lords and the Londoners, that they engaged to die with him, or for him, against any opposition whatever. Duke Robert being gone, and Henry thus settled in the affection of the people, he raised a very great army, and accompanied with divers of the nobility, sailed to Normandy, where falling upon Robert before he was half ready to fight, obtained a compleat victory over him, and won Normandy, with the slaughter of ten thousand men, taking Robert himself prisoner; whom he brought over and committed to Cardiff Castle in Wales, where he remained a prisoner till he died: yet had liberty of walking in the King's meadow and pasture. But being weary of this confinement, he endeavoured to make his escape, which the King being afraid of, ordered his eyes to be put out, which to avoid the deformity of breaking the eye balls, was done by causing his head to be held to a burning bason till the glassy tunicles had lost the office of retaining the light.

This, though it increased his misery, yet did not shorten his life, for he lived long after; in all, from the time of his imprisonment, twenty-eight years. And thus this great Duke, who in his birth was the joy of nature, in his Life was the scorn of fortune. And it is worth observing, that the English won Normandy the very same day fortieth year the Normans had won England. Such revolutions

of fortune there are in kingdoms, and so unstable is the state of all worldly greatness. This Robert died 1134, and lies buried at Gloucester. One author writes. That King Henry sent according to custom a robe of scarlet; and putting it first on himself, found that the capouch, or hood, (as the fashion was then) was somewhat too little; whereupon he said, carry this to my brother, his head is less than mine. The messenger delivering the robe, Duke Robert demanded if any had worn it; and being told the King had first tried it on, and what words he had said. The Duke replied, I have too long protracted a miserable life, since my brother is so injurious to me, that he sends me his old cloaths to wear. And from that time he would never taste any food, or receive any comfort.

This King Henry first instituted the form of the high court of parliament: for before his time, only certain of the nobility and prelates of the realm were called to consultation about the most important affairs of state, he caused the commons also to be assembled, by knights, citizens, and burgesses of their own electing, and made that court to consist of three estates, the nobility, the clergy, and the commons, representing the whole body of the realm, and appointed them to sit in several chambers; the King, the Lords, and the Bishops in one, and the commons in another; and to consult together by themselves. He established likewise several other orders, as they are used to this day. The first parliament that was so held, met at Salisbury upon the 19th. of April in the sixteenth year of his reign, 1019. He forbid wearing of long hair, which at that time was frequent, according to the French mode. He commanded robbers on the highway to be hanged without redemption. He punished counterfeiters of money with pulling out their eyes, or cutting off their privy members; a punishment both less than death, and greater.

In this King's time Guymond one of his chaplains, observing that unlearned, and unworthy men were generally preferred to the best dignities in the church, as he celebrated divine service before him, and was to read these words out of St. James, It rained not upon the earth III years and VI months, he read it thus, It rained not upon the earth L. I. I. years, and 5. I. months; the King observed his reading, and afterwards blamed him for it, but Guymond answered, that he did it on purpose since such readers were soonest advanced by his Majesty; the King smiled, and afterwards promoted him. About this time, Thomas Archbishop of York falling sick, his physicians told him, that nothing would do him good but to company with a woman; to whom

He answered, that the remedy was worse than the disease; and so it is said, died a virgin.

Upon the tenth of October, the river of Medway, that runs by Rochester, failed so of water for many miles together, that in the midst of the channel the smallest vessels could not pass; and the same day also in the Thames, between the Tower and London Bridge men waded over on foot for the space of two days. A great fire happened in London which consumed a long tract of buildings from Westcheap to Aldgate, and several other great cities in England were likewise burnt down about this time; in the thirteenth year of this King's reign many prodigies were seen, a pig was farrowed with a face like a child; a chicken was hatched with four legs, and the sun was so deeply eclipsed, that by reason of the darkness, many stars did plainly appear.

This King left behind him only one daughter named Maud, who could never come to be Queen, though born to a kingdom. She was married at six years old to the Emperor Henry the fourth, and after his death, she was again married to Fulk Duke of Anjou. Yet her father took much care to establish the succession in her and her issue, and therefore he called his nobility together, and among them David King of Scots, and made them take their oaths of allegiance to her, and her heirs. This he did three years one after another, wherein nothing pleased him so much, as that Stephen Earl of Blois was the first man that took the oath, because he was known to be, or it was known at least; that he might be a pretender to the crown. But the King should have considered, that no oath is binding when the getting a kingdom is the price of breaking it, and especially to Stephen who was so deeply interested. Yet providence could do no more; and the King was well satisfied with it, especially when he saw his daughter mother of two sons; for this, though it gave him no assurance, yet it gave him assured hope to have the crown perpetuated in his posterity.

Yet after King Henry was dead, Stephen ascends the throne, as being Earl of Bulleing, son to Stephen Earl of Blois, by Adele daughter of King William the conqueror, and though there were two before him, that is, Maud the Empress, and Theobald his elder brother, yet taking hold of opportunity, while the other lingered about smaller affairs, he solicits all the orders of the realm, bishops, lords, and people to receive him for their sovereign: and so upon St. Stephen's day 1135, he was crowned King at Westminster, and to ingratiate himself, he eased the people of divers taxes and impositions. Yet Stephen was no sooner in the chair of state, but David King of

Scots enters England with an army to defend the right of Maud, but he was soon compounded with, and so was Geoffrey Duke of Anjou, Maud's husband.

Soon after Maud herself comes into England, and was received by some persons for Queen; and Stephen hearing that some of her forces had besieged Lincoln, goes thither, where his army was overthrown, and himself taken prisoner, and carried to Maud, who committed him to Bristol castle. And being flushed with success, she takes her journey toward London, and was there received joyfully, as well as in other places, where Matilda wife of King Stephen made humble suit to her for the liberty of her husband, and that he might be suffered only to live a private life. The Londoners likewise having received her into the city as their Queen, thought now (as subjects usually do with new Princes) they might have what they would reasonably ask; and therefore humbly besought her, that the severe laws imposed upon them by her father, might be remitted, and those of King Edward might wholly be in force. But she rejected both these petitions, some say out of pride, others say out of mistaken policy, as thinking it most safe to act matters of importance, not upon intreaty but freely, and to govern the subjects with severity rather than mildness.

But those harsh and insulting answers she gave them, were at that time very unseasonable, and though they might have been more proper in a settled government, yet in this her green and unstable estate, they gave a stop to the current of all her fortunes. For Matilda finding by this how high the Empress's pulse beat, sent to her son Eustace to raise forces in Kent, since their suits must be only obtained by the sword. The nobles likewise, who set up King Stephen, finding themselves slighted, and the Londoners being as much discontented as they, join with them, and contrive how to seize upon the Empress in the city, and so redeem King Stephen, to whom their affections were firm. Of which Maud having notice, fled secretly out of London and went to Oxford; and from thence sent strict command that King Stephen should be laid in irons, and narrowly watched, and fed with very mean commons; and sending to David King of Scots for assistance, they laid siege to Winchester.

Matilda, King Stephen's wife, hearing of this, she with her son Eustace, and the assistance of the Londoners came presently to the relief of the place, where a fierce battle was fought, and Matilda's party prevailed, and the Empress Maud to make her escape, was fain to be laid upon a horse back like a dead corps, and so conveyed to

Gloucester. But Earl Robert her Brother, disdaining to fly, was taken prisoner, and used more hardly by Queen Matilda for her husband King Stephen's sake; but a while after, whether by agreement, or contrivance, both Stephen and Robert also made their escape out of prison.

King Stephen being at liberty, seeks out the Empress, to requit the kindness she had shewn him in prison, and hearing her to be at Oxford, he follows her thither, and lays siege to the town, and brought the Empress to such distress, that she had now no way to save herself but by flight. But being a woman (whose sex hath often deceived wise men) she resolved once more to over-reach her enemy by craft, since she could do it by force. For it being a very cold winter, the river Thames that runs by the walls of Oxford, was very hard frozen, and at the same time a deep snow covered the ground; Maud takes the advantage thereof, and clothing herself and four of her company in white linen garments to deceive the eyes of the centinel, she goes secretly in the night, out of a postern gate, and passing the frozen river, ran on foot through ice and snow, ditches, and vallies for five miles together, till she came to Abington, the falling snow beating in their faces all the way, and there taking horse, the same night got into Wallingford castle. But though Maud escaped this present danger, yet it left such an impression of fear upon her, that she never after had a mind to appear upon the stage of war, but left the prosecution of it to her son Henry, who was now about sixteen years of age.

And not long after, Eustace, King Stephen's son died, and being left destitute of issue to succeed him, he was the more easy drawn to conditions of peace: and so it was at last concluded that Stephen should hold the kingdom of England, and adopt Henry as his heir to succeed him. This agreement thus made and confirmed by parliament, Henry accounted King Stephen ever after as his father, and Stephen, Henry as his son; and well he might if it be true which some write, that Maud his mother, when a battle was to be fought between King Stephen and her son, went privately to him, asking him, how he could find in his heart to fight against him that was his own son? could he forget the familiarity he had with her in her widowhood. But however it was, King Stephen and Henry continued in mutual love and concord, as long as they lived together.

In the eighth year of King Stephen, a synod was held in London, by Henry Bishop of Winchester: where it was decreed; that whosoever should lay violent hand upon any clergyman, should not be

forgiven but by the Pope himself: and from this time forward, clergy-men were exempt from the power of the civil magistrate. In this King's time there appeared two children, a boy and a girl, clad in green, in a stuff unknown; of a strange language and diet; the boy being baptized, died shortly after, but the girl lived to be an old woman: and being asked from whence they were, she answered, they were of the land of St. Martin, where there are christian churches erected, but that no sun did ever rise unto them; but where the land is, or how she came hither she knew not. This story is related by many very credible historians, and if true, we may thereby learn, that there are other parts of the world than those which to us are known. In the fifteenth year of this King, the River Thames was so frozen at London, that horse and cart passed over upon the ice. In his time likewise lived Johannes de Temporibus, of whom it is recorded, that he lived three hundred and sixty-one years; he was one of Charlemain the Emperor's guard, and died in the reign of Conradus the III^d. 1139.

After the death of King Stephen, Henry Duke of Anjou succeeded, according to agreement, by the title of King Henry the Second, and was crowned at Westminster in the Year 1155. This King had very much vexation from Thomas Becket, that proud and insolent Archbishop of Canterbury, a Londoner by birth. The King requiring to have it ordained, that the clergy who were malefactors, should be tried before the secular magistrate. This Becket opposed it, alledging it was against the liberty of the church, and therefore against the honour of God. Many bishops stood with the King, and some few with Becket: the contention grew long and hot, so that the King being extremely disturbed, said on a time, shall I never be at quiet for this priest? If I had any about me that loved me, they would find some way or other to rid me of this trouble. Which complaint four of his knights that stood by, hearing, they presently went to Canterbury, and finding Becket in the cathedral, they struck him on the head, and felling him down, killed him in the place. But this created more trouble, for though with much intercession the Pope pardoned the four knights, being only enjoined penance to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Yet the King's was more severe; for going to Canterbury, as soon as he came in sight of Becket's church, alighting off his horse, and putting off his hose and shoes, he went barefoot to the tomb; and for a further penance, suffered himself to be beaten with rods upon his bare skin by every monk in the cloister.

This King Henry first ordained that the lions should be kept in the Tower of London. In the tenth year of his reign London Bridge

was new built with timber by Peter of Colechurch, a priest. And in his twenty-second year, after the foundation of St. Mary Overy's church, in Southwark, the stone bridge began to be founded, towards which, a cardinal and an archbishop of Canterbury gave a thousand marks. This King had many concubines, and among the rest Rosamond, daughter of Walter Lord Clifford, whom he kept at Woodstock, in lodgings, so cunningly contrived, that no stranger could find the way in. Yet Queen Eleanor did, by a clew of silk fallen from Rosamond's lap as she sat to take the air, who suddenly flying from the sight of her pursuer, the end of the silk fastened to her foot, and the clew still unwinding, remained behind; which the Queen followed, till she found her whom she sought for, in her labyrinth. So much is the eye of jealousy quicker in finding out, than the eye of care is in hiding. What the Queen did to Rosamond when she came to her, is uncertain; but this is certain, that Rosamond lived but a short time after. King Henry had two sons by her, William called Long-Sword, Earl of Salisbury, and Jeffery Archbishop of York.

In the sixteenth year of his reign, King Henry caused his eldest son Henry to be crowned at Westminster, by the hands of Roger, Archbishop of York, and caused all the lords to swear allegiance to him, as having found by experience, that oaths for succession are commonly eluded, but oaths for present allegiance can have no evasion. At the feast of this solemnity, King Henry, to honour his son, would needs carry up the first dish to his table. Whereupon Archbishop Roger standing by, and saying merrily to the new King, what an honour is this to you, to have such a waiter at your table: he briskly replied, why what a matter is it for him that was but the son of a duke to do service to me that am the son of a King and Queen. Which the old King hearing, began to repent of what he had done; yet he passed it over, and set the best side outward.

This young King died before his father, so that Richard the First, the eldest son then living, succeeded his father on the throne, and was crowned at Westminster, 1189. He drained great sums of money from the Londoners, and made them recompence in franchises and liberties. And indeed the laws and ordinances in his time were chiefly made for the meridian of London. For whereas before his time the city was governed by Portgraves, this King granted them to be governed by two Sheriffs and a Mayor, as it is now. And to give the first of these magistrates the honour to be remembered, the names of the Sheriffs were Henry Cornhill, and Richard Reyner; and the name of the first Lord Mayor was Henry Fitzalwin, who continued Mayor during his life,

which was four and twenty years. But Fabian, who was himself Sheriff of London, and therefore most likely to know the truth, affirmeth, that the officers ordained now by King Richard, were but only two bailiffs, and that there was no Mayor or Sheriffs till the tenth of King John. But however the city now began first to receive the form and state of a commonwealth (saith the historian) and to be divided into fellowships and corporations, as at this day; and this privilege was granted the first of Richard I, 1189.

This King left no children behind him, that we have any certain account of, unless we reckon as a popish priest did, who coming to King Richard, told him, that he had three very wicked daughters, which he desired him to bestow, or else God's wrath would attend him. But the King denying he had any daughters, Yes (said the priest) thou cherish three daughters, pride, covetousness, and leachery. The King apprehended his meaning, and smiling thereat, called his lords attending, and said, my lords, this hypocritical priest hath discovered, that I maintain three daughters, pride, covetousness, and leachery, which he would have me bestow in marriage; and therefore if I have any such, I have found out very fit husbands for them all. My pride I bequeath to the haughty templers and hospitallers, who are as proud as Lucifer himself: my covetousness I give to the white monks of the Cistercian order, for they covet the Devil and all: but for my leachery, I can bestow it no where better than on the priests, and bishops of our times, for therein they place their greatest felicity and happiness.

In this King's time, for three or four years together, there happened so great a drought, that a quarter of wheat was sold for eighteen shillings and eight pence; and thereupon followed so great a mortality of people, that the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead.

King Richard being dead, the right of succession remained in Arthur, son of Jeffery, Duke of Anjou, elder brother of Earl John: but John thinking Arthur's title but a criticism of state, and not so plain to common capacities as his own, who was son of a King and brother to a King, ascended the throne as confidently as if he had no competitor, only Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, made an oration on his behalf, wherein waving the right succession, he insisted wholly upon the right of election by the people, whereby it would follow, that those who brought him in, might throw him out. Of which the bishop being told, said, he did it on purpose to cause King John to be more careful of his government, by making him sensible upon what an uncertain foundation his regality stood. King John took notice of this, but since it would serve his present purpose, he let it pass, knowing that his turn once served, he could afterward carve out what

title he pleased, and so upon Ascension Day, 1199, he was crowned King, at Westminster.

But Constantia, the mother of Arthur, applies herself to Lewis the French King, on behalf of her son, who promised his assistance; but yet afterwards a peace was made between King John and Lewis. After which, King John being at leisure, gave himself wholly up to pleasure, and committed many extravagances, which so far obliged some of his lords, that they joined with the French King to assist Prince Arthur; but King John coming upon them unawares, routed their forces and took Arthur prisoner, who died soon after. The death of whom, and also of Geoffry Fitz-Peter, who while the King lived, kept him in some awe, left the King at full liberty to his own wild desires. For at the first hearing of Geoffry's death, he swore, by the feet of God, that now at length he was King of England, and with great rejoicing said to some lords about him, now when this man comes into Hell, let him salute the Archbishop Hubert, whom certainly he shall find there.

After this the lords of the realm having often required their ancient rights and liberties, and finding nothing but delusions, they would no longer endure to be abused: but meeting together, they consider of some remedy, and conclude to go to the King themselves in person, and make their demands, producing likewise a charter, which had been granted in Henry the First's time. Whereupon coming to the King after Christmas, lying then in the New Temple in London; and acquainting him with their demands, he answers, that within a few days he will give them satisfaction; and causeth the bishops of Canterbury and Ely, and William Marshal, Earl of Gloucester, to pass their words for him that it should be performed.

But the King never intending to do as he said, falls presently to raise soldiers; which the lords understanding, they all did the like: and going to the Bishop of Canterbury, they deliver him a copy of their demands, and require the King's answer; who shewed it to the King, with a message of their resolutions, that if he did not presently seal the charter then delivered to him, they would compel him thereto with forcible entrance into all his possessions.

The king being highly offended, asked, why they did not also require his kingdom, these their demands being grounded on no colour of reason; and then swore a great oath, that he would die before he would enslave himself to them by such concessions. The lords by this answer knowing what they must trust to, appointed Robert Fitzwater to be their general, whom they stiled, the marshal of God's

army and holy church. Then they besieged Northampton and Bedford, and the governor of the last being a confederate, delivered it up to them. But the Londoners displeased with the King for burthensing them with taxes, not only admitted them, but invited them to enter the city by night.

The lords now having this key of the land at their disposal, sent such threatening letters and messages abroad, that they drew most of the nobility from the King, who being at Windsor, providing an army; and having notice thereof, and that the Londoners were joined with them, he thought good to proceed rather by fraud than force; and thereupon sends to the lords, that if they would come to him to Windsor, he would grant their demands. The lords coming thither, but in a military manner, for they durst not trust his word; the King saluted them all kindly, and promised to give them satisfaction in all they demanded. And so in a meadow between Windsor and Stanes, called Running Mead, and afterward Council Mead, he freely consented to confirm their former liberties contained in Magna Charta, and Charta Forestæ; and likewise that there should be twenty-five peers elected, who should have a sway in the government, and whose commands all the rest of the barons were bound by oath to obey, and he was contented that some grave personages should be chosen to see it performed.

But the next day, when it should be done, the King goes privately the night before to Southampton, and from thence to the Isle of Wight, where advising with his council, it was concluded he should send to the Pope, to acquaint him with this mutiny of the lords, and require his help, while the King in the mean time lived sculking up and down in corners that no man might know where to find him, or what is worse (as some write) roving about and practising piracy.

And now the lords began to suspect fraud, when shortly after, the King's messengers, who were Walter and John, bishops of Worcester and Norwich, return with the Pope's decree, whereby the barons charter was by definitive sentence cancelled and made void, and the king and barons accursed, if either of them observed the composition. This decree the King, after he had staid three months in the Isle of Wight, coming back to Windsor, acquaints the lords with, but they accusing the messenger for falsly informing the Pope; and the Pope also for making a decree without hearing of both sides, betake themselves to arms, and swear by the holy altar to be revenged for this injurious dealing.

The King finding the lords nothing moved upon the Pope's decree, sends again to him, to acquaint him with it; who being mightily incensed to have his decree so slighted, adjudgeth the lords to be enemies of religion, and gives power to Peter Bishop of Winchester, and the abbot of Redding to excommunicate them, whereby all their lands, together with the city of London were interdicted, but the lords still stand on their guard in London, scorning and defying the Pope's censures; and decreeing that neither themselves nor the Londoners should observe them, nor the bishops dare to denounce them, alledging, that it did not belong to the Pope to deal in temporal affairs, since St. Peter received power of our Saviour only in ecclesiastical matters: and why should the Roman insatiable covetousness extend itself hither to us? what have bishops to do to intermeddle in wars? such are Constantine's successors, not St. Peter's: whom as they represent not in good actions, so neither do they in authority. Fie upon such mercenary rascals, who having little knowledge of ingenuity or art, being usurers and Simoniacks; that they should dare by their excommunications to domineer over the world. O how unlike they are to St. Peter, who have usurped St. Peter's chair.

With these remonstrances the lords went resolutely in their course. In the mean time King John, with the assistance of some forces which he had hired beyond sea, had within half a year gotten all the castles of the barons into his hands as far as the borders of Scotland; and then he divided his army, committing one part to his brother William Earl of Salisbury, who was ordered to fall upon London; and with the other he himself goes into Yorkshire, where most of the lords had estates, which he miserably destroys with fire and sword.

The lords being distressed on every side, resolved upon a course neither honorable nor safe, yet such as necessity made appear to be both, for they sent to Philip King of France, requiring him to send over his son Lewis to their aid, and promising they would submit themselves to be governed by him, and to take him for their Sovereign. To this motion of the lords, King Philip was as forward as themselves; which King John understanding, sends again to the Pope, requiring him to use his authority to stay the King of France from coming. Who accordingly sent Cardinal Wallo his legate, who threatened the great curse in the council, on all who should join with those excommunicated persons, against King John, or should enter upon St. Peter's patrimony.

But King Philip replied, that England was no part of St. Peter's patrimony, no King having power to alienate his kingdom, and John

especially, who being never lawful King, had no power to dispose thereof; and that it was an error, and a pernicious example in the Pope, and an itching lust and desire after a new and lawless dominion. His peers likewise swore by Christ's death, that they would loose their lives, rather than suffer a King of himself, or with the consent of a few flatterers, to give away his crown, and enslave his nobles, especially to the Pope, who ought to follow St. Peter's steps to win souls, and not to meddle with wars, and murdering of men's bodies.

Now the reason of the Pope's claiming England as St. Peter's patrimony, was upon the account of the resignation of King John. And though the Pope seemed now so zealous for the interest of King John, yet not above five years before he was as much his enemy: for the King being incensed against the clergy, and endeavouring to rectify some miscarriages about electing Bishops, &c. the Pope fearing he would intrench upon his privileges, used his utmost power against him; forbidding mass to be said for some years, excommunicating and cursing him, and giving his kingdom to the French King, and stirring up his own nobility against him, freeing them from their allegiance to him. So that King John being encompassed with troubles on every side, was compelled to submit to whatever the Pope would command him: nay, he was forced to take off his crown, and kneeling on his knees in the midst of his barons, he surrendered it into the hands of Pandulphus the Legate, for the Pope's use; saying, here I resign up the crown of the realm of England to the hands of Pope Innocent the Third, and lay myself wholly at his mercy and appointment. At whose feet he also laid his scepter, robes, sword, Ring, and all the ensignias of royalty. Pandulphus took the crown from King John, and kept it five days: and the King giving them all his kingdoms to the Pope to be held in farm from him, and his heirs for evermore, the crown was restored; King John engaging to pay seven hundred marks a year for England, and three hundred for Ireland; half of it at Easter and half at Whitsuntide, as rent for the said kingdoms.

But this being done out of force and necessity, King Philip it seems (no more than his own people) did not think it of any value. Yea, Prince Lewis himself beseeched his father not to hinder him from that which was none of his gift, and for which he was now resolved to spend his blood, and would chuse rather to be excommunicated by the Pope, than falsify his promise to the English barons. For upon their sending their letters of allegiance, confirmed with the hands and seals of all the lords, to implore King Philip's favour, and to send his

son, and desiring his son to accept of the crown, they received a present supply of French soldiers, upon their delivering up fifty English gentlemen, as hostages for the true performance of the contract.

King Philip therefore having his holiness's message with such scorn and contempt, so affrighted the Legate with his stern countenance, that he made all possible haste to be gone, as fearing some mischief should be done him. And Lewis as speedily set forth for England with his fleet of six hundred ships, and fourscore boats, wherewith arriving first in the Isle of Thanet, and afterward going to Sandwich, the barons came thither to him, and joined with him. King John's great navy wherewith he intended to oppose him, was driven Southward by a sudden tempest; and his soldiers were generally mercenaries, and more inclined (as it appeared afterward) to Lewis a foreign Prince than to him; whereupon King John thought fit for the present to forbear battle, and went toward Winchester.

In the mean time Lewis had liberty to take all thereabout, except Dover castle, which John had committed to the valliant Hubert de Burg. Yet Lewis marched forward to London, where entering with a solemn procession, and with the incredible applause of all, he went into St. Paul's church, and there the citizens of London took their oaths of allegiance to him. From whence he passed to Westminster; and there the lords and barons likewise swore to be true to him; he himself likewise swearing, to restore to all men their rights, and to recover to the crown whatsoever had been lost by King John. Then he chose Simon Langton, who had been lately disgraced by the Pope, for his Lord Chancellor, by whose preaching the citizens of London, and the lords, though they were excommunicated, and under the Pope's curse, did yet celebrate divine service, and drew on Prince Lewis to do the like. Whereupon Wallo the Pope's legate (who was now with King John) denounced heavy and solemn curses throughout the kingdom, against the Londoners, especially against Lewis and his Chancellor by name.

But Lewis went from London, and passed over all the country without resistance, but not without infinite outrages committed by his soldiers, which was not in his power to hinder. In the mean time King John finding his enemies employed in the siege of Dover castle, and likewise Odiam castle, (wherein thirteen English men only braved Lewis and his whole army for fifteen days together; nay, sallied out upon them, and taking every man prisoner to the great admiration of the French, they returned safely back again, and afterward delivered

up the place upon honorable conditions. King John thereupon gathers a rabble of rascally people about him, with whom he over-runs all the country, to the ruining of the barons castles and estates in all places. And then marching from Lyn in Norfolk, on which place he bestowed his own sword, a gilt bole, and divers large privileges in testification of their loyalty to him, King John went with a full resolution (having now got a very great army together) to give present battle to Lewis; but as he was passing the washes of Lincolnshire, which are always dangerous, all his carriages, treasure, and provision were lost in the sands, himself and his army hardly escaping.

The kingdom was now made the stage of all manner of rapine and cruelty, having two armies in it at once, each of them seeking to prey upon each other, and both of them upon the country. Which the lords seriously reflecting upon, and finding likewise their faithful services to Lewis little regarded, since he bestowed all places that were conquered, upon French men only, they began to consider how they might free themselves from those calamities.

But that which startled them most, was, that a noble French man, called Viscount de Melun, who was very much in esteem with Lewis, being upon his death bed in London, desired to have some private conference with those English lords and Londoners to whom Lewis had committed the custody of that city, to whom he discovered,

That lamentable desolation, and secret and unsuspected ruin and destruction hung over their heads, since Lewis with sixteen others of his earls and lords, of whom himself was one, had taken an oath, that if ever the crown of England was settled on his head, they would condemn to perpetual banishment, all such as now adhered to him against King John, as being traitors to their own Sovereign; and that all their kindred and relations should be utterly rooted out of the land.

This he affirmed to be true, as he hoped for the salvation of his now departing soul; and thereupon counselling them timely to prevent their approaching miseries; and in the mean while to lock up his words under the seal of secrecy, he soon after departed this life.

These dreadful tidings strangely amazed the auditors, and though many of the lords doubted whether if they returned to their allegiance toward King John, he would ever accept of their repentance, since they had so highly provoked him. Yet forty of them immediately sent submissive letters to the King, therein expressing their sorrow, and hoping that true royal blood would be ever ready to shew mercy to such as were ready to yield themselves prostrate to intreat for it.

But those solicitors for mercy came too late, for King John, through vexation of mind for the loss of his carriages, fell into a high fever, whereof within a few days he died. Though the manner of his death is otherwise reported by other authors, one of whom says, that he was poisoned at Swinshead abby, by a monk of that convent, upon the following account; the King being told that corn was very cheap, said, that it should be dearer ere long, for he would make a penny loaf to be sold for a shilling, at which speech the monk was so offended, that he put the poison of a toad into a cup of wine, and brought it to the King, telling him, there was such a cup of wine as he had never drank in all his life; and therewithall drank first of it himself, which made the King drink more boldly of it: but finding himself ill upon it, he asked for the monk, and when it was told him that he was fallen down dead, then (saith the King) God have mercy upon me: I doubted as much. Others say, poison was given him in a dish of pears; and add, that this was judged such a meritorious act that the monk had a mass appointed to be said for his soul for ever after, by his fellow monks.

This King is charged with irreligion by the monks of those times, who did not love him, and therefore we know not how far they are to be believed. And among other speeches, that having been a little before reconciled to the Pope, and afterward receiving a great overthrow from the French, he in great anger cried out, that nothing had prospered with him since he was reconciled to God and the Pope. And that at another time being a hunting, he merrily said at the opening of a fat buck, see this deer hath prospered, and how fat he is, and yet I dare swear, he never heard mass. He is likewise charged, that being in some distress, he sent Thomas Hardington, and Ralph Fitz-Nichols, knights, ambassadors to Miramimalim King of Africa and Morocco, with offer of his kingdom to him, if he would assist him, and that if he prevailed, he himself would become a turk and renounce the Christian religion.

To this time the city of London had been governed by two bailiffs, but the King in his tenth year, taking displeasure against them for denying his purveyors wheat, he imprisoned them till thirty-five of the chief citizens repaired to him, and acquainted him with what small store the city had, and how the commons were ready to make an insurrection about it, he was then satisfied; and likewise at their suit he by a new charter granted to the citizens to elect a new mayor and two sheriffs to be chosen yearly nine days before Michaelmas, which order hath continued to this day, though with some alteration as to time.

In this King's time likewise, five and thirty of the most substantial citizens were chosen out, and called the Common Council of the city.

In this King's time there fell hail as big as goose eggs, with great thunder and lightning, so that many men, women, and cattle were destroyed, houses overthrown and burned, and corn in the fields beaten down. In 1202, and the fourth year of the reign of King John, there began a frost from the 14th of January, which continued to the 22d of March, that the ground could not be tilled, so that in the summer following a quarter of weat was sold for a mark, which in the days of Henry the second was sold for twelve pence, and a quarter of beans or oats for a groat; and why the disproportion in the prices is now so great, (since the price of silver is much less altered; for an ounce of silver was then valued at twenty pence, which is now valued at five shillings) must be left to philosophers to give the reason: for since scarcity makes things dear, why should not plenty make them cheap?

About this time fishes of strange shape were taken, armed with helmets and shields, like armed men, only they were much bigger. A certain monster was likewise found, stricken with lightning not far from London, which had an head like an ass, a belly like a man, and all other parts far different from any other creature. And in another place, a fish was taken alive in the form of a man, and was kept six months upon land with raw flesh and fish, and then because they could not make it speak, they cast it into the sea again.

In the ninth year of King John's reign, the arches and stone bridge over the Thames at London was quite finished by Serle Mercer, and William Alman, then procurators and masters of the bridge-house, and soon after a great fire happened there, of which you have already an account.

After the death of King John, his eldest son Henry, being not above ten years old, succeeded him, and was therefore very unfit to govern in such a distracted time, when a great part of the kingdom had sworn allegiance to Prince Lewis. However upon October 8th. 1216, he was crowned at Gloucester by the name of Henry the third, where besides the usual oath taken by all Kings, he did homage also to the church of Rome, and to the Pope Innocent, for the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and promised the true payment of the thousand marks a year, which his father had granted to the church of Rome.

And then William Marshal Earl of Pembroke was by general consent made protector of the realm, during the King's minority. In the mean time Lewis, who thought himself sure of the kingdom by the death of King John, now hearing of the solemn crowning of the young King with such unanimous consent, he begins to grow jealous of the English lords, who indeed had some conflicts in their minds whom they should obey; they thought it great ingratitude to forsake Prince Lewis, whom they themselves had invited to come, and yet it seemed extreme disloyalty to stand in opposition to Henry their innocent natural Sovereign; but the discovery of Viscount Melun, that Lewis intended to extirpate all the English nobility, and the curse of Wallo the Pope's legate against all who should join with Lewis, with divers other reasons, caused the principal of them to shrink from Lewis and join with King Henry, as thinking no obligation so great as allegiance, many others staid with Lewis, as thinking none greater than an oath.

And now Prince Lewis fearing that his enemies having gotten an head, and draw more forces together, staying himself in London, sent his Lieutenant with an army of twenty thousand to take in what towns he could get, some of which they took with small resistance; but William Earl of Pembroke the protector, coming against them with an army, utterly routed Lewis, and took most of the lords that adhered to him prisoners; and though his father Philip sent him more forces, yet they were defeated at sea, so that Lewis upon payment of some money, and other conditions, returned into France, and King Henry took an oath, and for him, the Pope's legate Wallo, and the Protector, that he would restore to the barons of the realm, and others, his subjects, all their rights and privileges for which the discord began between the late King and his people. And afterward he confirmed the two charters of Magna Charta, and Charta Forestæ, granted by his father King John.

In the Xth year of King Henry's reign, and the XIXth of his age, he claimed to take the government upon himself, and no longer to be under a protector, after which there presently appeared the difference between a Prince that is ruled by good council, and one that will do all of his own will, and take no advice. For thirteen years he was ruled by a protector, and then all passed as it were in a calm without noise, or clamour; but as soon as he took upon him the government, storms and tumults presently arose, neither was there any quietness with the subjects, nor himself, nothing but grievances all the long time of his reign.

For as soon as he was crowned again, he presently cancels and annuls the Charter of the Forests, granted in his nonage, and therefore not bound to observe it, and then makes a new seal, forcing all that had grants by the former, to renew them, whereby he got abundance of money. After which he goes over into France to recover his rights there: to which purpose he raises great sums of money from the Londoners redemption of their liberties. About which time Constantine Fitz-Arnulf a citizen of London, (upon a tumult which arose in the city at a wrestling, which he purposely appointed) endeavoured to set up Lewis again, and in the heat of the disturbance he treacherously cried out Mountjoy, Mountjoy, God for us and our Lord Lewis.

And though the mayor was a very discreet person, earnestly persuaded them to be quiet, yet Constantine by his seditious orations, had made the people incapable of good council; so that there was little hope of appeasing them. The Lord Chief Justice having notice thereof, presently raised forces and entered the Tower of London, and sent for the principal men of the city to come before him, who all disclaimed their being concerned therein, and charged Fitz-Arnulf to be the chief author thereof. But he resolutely answered, that he had not done so much therein as he ought. Whereupon he was condemned to die, together with the crier who published the proclamation, and his nephew; and was accordingly executed, though when he saw the halter about his neck, he offered fifteen thousand marks for the saving of his life. This execution being done without noise, or the knowledge of the Londoners, the Lord Chief Justice comes into the city, and apprehending several who were guilty of this tumult, he caused their hands and feet to be cut off, for a terror to the rest, and then set them at liberty. The King likewise deposed several of the magistrates, but afterwards finding that the baser sort of people only were concerned in the disorder, he thereupon was reconciled to the city.

About this time an execrable impostor was brought before the Archbishop of Canterbury, who observing how easily the people were deluded in those times of darkness and superstition, he impudently caused himself to be wounded in his hands, feet, and sides, that by the resemblance of these bloody impressions, he might be acknowledged for their very Saviour: who was thereupon deservedly immured up between four walls; and with him a wretched woman, who pretended to be Mary the mother of this Christ; and some say another who called herself Mary Magdalen this punishment being thought

most fit for such miscreants, as monsters too impious, and unworthy to die by human hands, though it is very remarkable, that this man should have such a severe judgment at Oxford, and yet St. Francis, who was guilty of the same imposture, as to the wounds of Christ, though not the name, should soon after be canonized at Rome for the chief of Saints; and perhaps if this monster had been at Rome, he had been likewise sainted; and if Saint Francis had been at Oxford he had been immured.

King Henry returning from France, brought over many Frenchmen with him, which he puts in places of trust and profit, and removes and fines his old officers. The lords could no longer endure so many indignities, to see themselves slighted and strangers advanced; their persons likewise exposed to danger, and their estates to ruin, for which they could find no remedy but the king's confirming their charter of liberties, wherein it is strange to see upon what different grounds the king and the lords went. It seems the King thought, that to confirm their charter, was to make himself less than a King; and the lords thought, as long as that was denied, they were no better than slaves, and as the King could endure no diminution, so the lords could endure no slavery. But the King might keep his own with sitting still; and the lords could not recover their own but by motion.

And hereupon they confederated together, the chief among them being Richard, the brother of William, late protector, and now Earl Marshal, who repair to the King, and boldly tell him of his faults, and requires satisfaction. Whereupon the King presently sends for whole legions of Frenchmen over, and withal summons a parliament at Oxford, whither the lords refuse to come. After this a parliament is called at Westminster, whither they likewise refuse to come, unless the King would remove the Bishop of Winchester, and the French from the court; and more than this, they send him word, that unless he did this, they would expel both himself, and his evil counsellors out of the land, and create a new King.

Upon this threatening, pledges are required of the nobility for securing their allegiance: and writs are sent out to all who held by knights service, to repair to the King by a certain day, which the Earl Marshal and his associates refusing, the King, without the judgment of the court and his peers, caused them to be proclaimed out-laws, and seized upon all their lands, which he gives to the Frenchmen, and directs out-writs to attach their bodies wherever found. Upon which some of the confederate lords went over to the King, and the Earl Marshal is persuaded to do the same, which he refusing, a design is

laid to draw him over into Ireland to defend his estate there, which was seized upon by the King; where being circumvented by treachery, he lost his life. Yet the King disavows being concerned therein, and lays the fault upon his officers. An easy way (saith the historian) for princes never to be found in any fault.

After this the lords went into Wales, and joined with Prince Llewellyn: whither also came Hubert de Burg, Earl of Kent. Hereupon the King is advised to go himself thither; who complained, that he was not able in regard of his wants, saying, that his treasurers told him, all the rents of his exchequer would scarce maintain him in clothes, victuals, and alms: Whereupon some of his lords answered, that he might thank himself, if he were poor, since he gave so much of his revenue to his favourites, and had so far alienated his lands, that he was only a king in name, rather than for his estate; though his ancestors were magnificent princes, who abounded in all wordly glory and wealth, and had heaped up vast treasures, only by the rents and profits of the kingdom. The king being stung with this just reprehension, began by their advice, to call his sheriffs, bailiffs, and other officers to a strict account, and squeezed great sums of money out of them, forcing Ralph Briton, his lord treasurer, to pay him a thousand pounds, and other very considerable sums, whereby he at this time filled his coffers.

After two years affliction, a parliament is called at Westminster, wherein the bishops admonish the King, by his father's example, to be at peace and unity with his people, and remove from him strangers, and to govern the kingdom by natives of the realm, and by the laws, otherwise they would proceed by ecclesiastical censure both against himself, and his counsellors. The King seeing no way to subsist, but by temporizing, removes all strangers from about him, calls his new officers to account, and restores the lords to their places and possessions.

Soon after another parliament is called, which the King would have to sit in the Tower, whither the lords refusing to come, a place of more freedom is appointed, in which parliament the sheriffs are removed for corruption, and the King would have taken the great seal from the Bishop of Chichester, who refused to deliver it, as having received it from the Common Council of the kingdom.

In the twenty-first year of this King's reign, another parliament is called at London, where the King requires a great sum of money, which being directly opposed, the King promiseth by oath, never more to injure the nobility, so they would but relieve him at present,

and that he would use only the counsel of his natural subjects, and freely grant the inviolable observation of their liberties. Whereupon a subsidy was granted him, but with this condition, that four knights in every county be appointed to receive and pay in the same, either to some abbey or castle where it may be safely kept, that if the king fail of performing his oaths and promises, it may be restored to the county from whence it was collected.

About this time, the King, to please the lords, ordered Peter de Rivalis and some other of his French favorites, to appear in Westminster Hall, as delinquents, and he himself coming thither, sat in person upon the bench among his judges: Peter de Rivalis being first called, the King looking sternly upon him, spake thus to him:

O thou traitor, by thy wicked advice I was drawn to set my seal to those treacherous letters for the destruction of the Earl Marshal in Ireland, the contents whereof were to me unknown. And by thine, and such like wicked counsel, I banished my natural subjects, and turned their minds and hearts from me. By the bad counsel of thee and thy accomplices, I was stirred up to make war upon them, to my exceeding loss, and the dishonor of my realm; for thereby I wasted my treasure, and lost many worthy persons, together with much of my former honor and respect. I therefore require of thee an exact account as well of my treasure as the custody of the wards, together with many other perquisites and profits belonging to the crown.

To whom Rivalis, denying nothing whereof he was charged, but falling to the ground, thus answered: "My sovereign Lord and King, I have been raised up and enriched with worldly goods only by you, confound not therefore your own creature, but please to grant me some time to make my defence against what I am charged with." Thou shalt (said the King) be carried to the Tower of London, there to deliberate of it, till I am satisfied. And he was sent accordingly. But Stephen de Seagrave, Lord Chief Justice, whom the King likewise called most wicked traitor, had time till Michaelmas to make up his accounts, and so had others. But afterward by mediation, and paying very great fines to the King, they obtained their liberty, and were awhile after again taken into grace and favour.

In the midst of these distractions and troubles, it pleased God to inflict upon this city, and the kingdom, the plague of famine, as well as the sword, whereby the poor miserably perished for want of bread. The authors of those times relate this story very credibly, to shew how displeasing unmercifulness and want of charity is in the sight of God. Several poor people plucked the ears of corn while they were

green in the common fields, to keep themselves from starving; at which the owners being much offended, desired the priest of the parish to curse and excommunicate them all the next Sunday; but one in the company adjured the priest, in the name of God, to exempt his corn from the sentence, saying, that it pleased him well that the poor, being pinched with famine, had taken his corn; and so commended what was left to the blessing of God. The priest being compelled by the importunity of the others, had no sooner began the sentence, but a sudden tempest of thunder, lightning, wind, hail, and rain, interrupted him, whereby all the corn fields thereabout were laid waste and destroyed, as if they had been trodden under foot with cart and horses; yea no kind of fowl, nor beast would feed upon it. But this honest tender-hearted man found all his corn and ground, though mingled among theirs, altogether untouched, and without the least harm.

Awhile after the King calls another parliament at London, in order to the raising of more money, having tried before to borrow of the Londoners, and found them to incline to the lords. To this parliament the lords come, armed for their own defence, and make Richard, the King's brother, spokesman; wherein they aggravate his breach of promise, since neither were strangers removed from about him, but taken more into favour than before. Nor was the former money disposed of according to appointment, but the King made bold to make use of it at his own pleasure; the Earl of Provence, the young queen's father, and Simon Montford, a new favorite, and a Frenchman born, now made Earl of Leicester, having a good share of the money collected, they acquaint him also with all the rest of the disorders of the kingdom.

The King was so moved at this their remonstrance, that taking his oath to refer the matter to divers grave men of the kingdom, articles were drawn, sealed, and publicly set up to the view of all. And soon after the Earl of March solicits the King to make another journey into France, whereupon he calls a parliament at London, and demands aid, which was not only opposed, but an account required of all the taxations hitherto given, with an absolute denial of any more. Upon which the King comes to the parliament in person, earnestly and indeed humbly craving their aid for this once. But all prevailed not, for they had made a vow to the contrary; and the King is driven to get what he can of particular men, of whom partly by gift, and partly by loan, he gets so much that he carries over with him thirty barrels of sterling money. This expedition had no better success than the former, for after a whole year's stay, the King was forced to make a dishonorable

truce with the French, and upon his return home, he laid new exact-ions on the Jews and Londoners.

In the next parliament at Westminster, enquiry was made how much money the Pope had yearly out of England, and it was found to be annually threescore thousand marks, which was more than the revenue of the crown, which the King ordered an account to be taken of, and sent it to the council at Lyons. This so vexed the Pope that he said, It is time to make an end with the Emperor (with whom he was then at variance) that we may crush these petty kings, for the dragon once appeased or destroyed, these lesser snakes will soon be trodden down. Upon which it was absolutely ordained, that the Pope should have no more money out of England. But the King being of an irresolute and wavering nature, and afraid of threats, soon gave over, and the Pope continued his former rapine.

The King had now abundance of grandees come to see him from foreign parts, and having called a parliament at London, he is sharply taxed for his expences, and severely reprehended for his breach of promise; having vowed and declared in his charter, never more to injure the state again; also for his violent taking up provisions of wax, silk, robes, and especially of wine, contrary to the will of the seller, and many other grievances they complain of. All which the King hears patiently, in hope of obtaining supplies, which yet they would not give, and thereupon the parliament is prorogued till the Midsummer following; and the King growing more furious than before, it was then dissolved in discontent. But the parliament not supplying him, he is advised to supply his wants with sale of his plate, and jewels of the crown, being told, that though they were sold, yet they would revert to him again; and having with great loss received money for them, he asked who had bought them? answer was made, The City of London. That City (said he) is an inexhaustible gulph, if Octavius's treasure were to be sold, they would surely buy it.

In his two and fortieth year another parliament is held, which by some was called *Insanum Parliamentum*, the mad parliament; because at this parliament the lords came with great retinues of armed men, and many things were enacted contrary to the King's prerogative. And now to vex the city, the King commands a fair to be kept at Westminster, forbidding, under great penalties, all exercise of merchandize within London for fifteen days. But this novelty came to nothing, for the inconvenience of the place, as it was then, and the foulness of the weather, brought more damage to the traders than benefit.

At Christmas likewise he demands new-year's gifts of the Londoners, and shortly after writes unto them his letters, imperiously commanding them to aid him with money, and thereby gets twenty thousand pound of them, for which the next year he craves pardon of them. But notwithstanding his continual taking up of all provisions for his house without money, yet he lessens his house-keeping in no honourable manner. Now seeing he could get nothing of the states assembled in parliament, he sends or writes to every nobleman in particular, declaring his poverty, and how he was bound by charter in a debt of thirty thousand pound to those of Bourdeaux and Gascoign, who otherwise would not have suffered him to come back to England. But failing of any relief from the temporal lords, he addressed his letters to the bishops, of whom he finds as little relief; yet by much importunity and his own presence, he got an hundred pound of the Abbot of Ramsey; but the Abbot of Burrough had the confidence to deny him, though the King told him, it was more charity to give money to him, than to a beggar that went from door to door. The Abbot of St. Alban's was yet more kind, and gave him threescore marks; to such lowliness did the profuseness of this indigent King bring him.

But now the Lords assemble again at London, and press him with his promise, that the Lord Chief Justice, Chancellor and Treasurer, should be appointed by the general council of the kingdom, but they go home again frustrate of their desires. Not long after a parliament is assembled at London, and Henry de Bath one of the judges, and councillor to the King, who by corruption had got a vast estate, is accused by Philip Darcy; and Bath thereupon appears strongly guarded with his friends. The accusations were many, but especially two; that he troubled the whole realm, and stirred up all the lords thereof against the King, and that for reward he had discharged a malefactor out of prison. The King was so enraged to see him with so many men, that mounting into an high place, he cries out aloud, "Whosoever kills Henry de Bath, shall be pardoned for his death, and I do here acquit him;" and so departs. But Sir John Mansel, one of his council spake thus to some who was ready to execute his will:

"Gentlemen and friends, it is not necessary for us to put that presently in execution which the King commandeth in his anger; for it may be when his wrath is over, he will be sorry for what he hath said. Besides, if any violence be offered to Bath, here are his friends ready to revenge it to the utmost." And so Sir Henry Bath escaped the present danger, and afterwards with money and friends made his peace.

About this time the King by proclamation calls the Londoners to Westminster, and there causeth the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester to declare his intentions, and to exhort the people to undertake the recovery of the Holy Land from the Saracens, the King being persuaded thereto by the Pope, who usually sent princes abroad to recover Palestine, on purpose that he might fleece the subjects of some, and seize the lands of others at home in their absence.

But the Londoners had no mind to this pilgrimage, and therefore all the bishop's arguments prevailed only upon three poor knights, whom the King thereupon in open view, embraced, kissed, and calls his brethren; but checks the Londoners as ignoble mercenaries, and there himself takes his oath for performing his journey, and to set forth upon Midsummer day next. In taking his oath he lays his right hand upon his breast, according to the manner of a priest, and after on the book, and kissed it as a layman.

Now for money to carry on this, the King demands a tenth of the estates of the clergy and layety for three years together. To which end a parliament is called at London, where the bishops are first dealt withal, as being a work of piety; but they absolutely refused it, then the temporal lords are set upon, and they answer as the bishops, which put the King into so great a rage, that he drove out all that were in his chamber, as if he had been mad. Then he falls to persuade them apart, sending first for the Bishop of Ely, and tells him how kindly he had formerly been to him; the bishop dissuades him from the journey by the example of the French king, and useth many other arguments, which the king hearing, commanded the bishop in great passion to be thrust out of doors, and perceiving by this what he might expect from others, he falls upon his former violent courses, and the City of London is compelled to contribute a thousand marks. Gascoign is likewise ready to revolt, unless speedy succour be sent them; and general musters are made, which occasions another parliament at London, who it seems began to consider that the King's turn must be served one way or other, and therefore they agree to relieve him the usual way, rather than force him to those extravagant courses which he took. Yet so as the reformation of the government, and the ratification of their laws and liberties might once again be solemnly confirmed.

After fifteen days consultation, a tenth is granted for this holy expedition; and thereupon those often confirmed charters called Magna Charta, and Charta de Foresta are again ratified, and that in the most solemn and ceremonious manner, that state and religion could possibly

devise. The King with all the chief nobility of the realm in their robes, and the bishops in their vestments, with burning candles in their hands, assemble to hear the terrible sentence of excommunication against the infringers of the same; and at the lighting of those candles, the King having received one in his hand, gives it to the prelate that stood by, saying, it becomes not me who am no priest to hold this candle, my heart shall be a greater testimony; and withal laid his hand spread upon his breast during the reading of the sentence. Which done, he caused the charter of King John, his father, granted by his free consent, to be openly read. And then having thrown down their candles, which lay smoaking on the ground, they cried out, so let them who incur this sentence be extinct, and have no better savour than these snuffs. And the King with a loud voice said, as God help me, I will; as I am a man, a christian, a knight, a king crowned and anointed, inviolably observe all these things. And therewithal the bells rung out, and the people shouted for joy.

Yet was not all quieted by this grant, for Simon Montford, Earl of Leicester, awhile after charging the King with breach of promise, the King in a great rage replied, no promise was to be kept with an unworthy traitor. At which words Montford riseth up, and protested, that the King lied, and were he not protected by his royal dignity, he would make him repent his words. The King, commanded his attendants to lay hold of him, but the lords would not suffer it; yet after this great affront, Montford is again sent to Gascoign with a great fleet by the King, who goes also himself into France, and there spends a vast deal of money, but it is the Londoners must pay for all, for returning home about Christmas, they presented him with an hundred pound in money, and two hundred pound in plate, which was so slighted, and so ill taken, that advantage was soon found against them about the escape of a prisoner, which cost them three thousand marks, and commonly he had every year one quarrel or other with the citizens, which they are sure to make satisfaction for.

Soon after another parliament is called at London, wherein the lords again expostulate about their former liberties, requiring that the Lord Chief Justice, &c. should be chosen by parliament. They likewise require twenty four conservators should be elected, twelve by the King and twelve by themselves, to see to the due execution of these charters, which the King, knowing their strength, yielded to, and both he, and his son the prince, sware to confirm the same.

Awhile before, the King sent to some monasteries to borrow money, his officers alledging that the King was lord of all they had, who an-

swered, they acknowledged that ; but yet so as to defend it, and not to destroy it, or take it illegally away from them.

The lords having thus got the government into their hands, oblige the King to free them from all obedience and allegiance whensoever he infringed their charter. Yet soon after the King sends to Rome to be freed from his oath ; which he obtained. Whereupon the lords put themselves into arms, and Montford, Earl of Leicester, their general, takes many castles. The King likewise raises forces. The barons march towards London, under a banner richly and beautifully flourished with the King's arms. And as they passed by the houses or possessions of those that favoured the Pope's bulls (whereby the King himself, and all others who had formerly sworn to observe and maintain those new ordinances and laws, and to support the authority of the twenty-four peers, were fully absolved from their oaths) they robbed and wasted them, as enemies to the King and kingdom.

They then approached the City of London, and by their letters desired the Lord Mayor and citizens to send them word whether they resolved to support the authority of the peers or not ; protesting before God, themselves intended nothing else ; and that if any thing were defective in those laws, they should be reformed.

The Lord Mayor sends these letters with all speed to the King, who desired likewise to know, whether they would support the laws of the twenty-four peers or not : they stoutly answered, that they would, since by the King's command they had all sworn so to do. The King was extremely enraged at this answer, but he could get no other, and the same answer they sent to the lords, who thereupon proceeded in their march, and were with much joy and kindness received into London, and soon after routed the prince, who came against them with a considerable army.

But some of the meaner sort of the city intending under the pretence of these disturbances, to do mischief, elected two ambitious fellows, whom they called the two constables of London, and agreed, that at the tolling of a great bell in St. Paul's church, as many as would join with them, should be ready to act whatever the two constables commanded them ; and though all endeavours were used to prevent them, yet their desire of plunder so furiously transported them, that upon the tolling of that bell, a great number met together, and marching about eight miles westward from London, they ruined and destroyed the house and possessions of the King's brother Richard, King of the Romans, carrying away all his goods with them. Which insolent outrage much furthered the succeeding wars, for whereas before,

Richard being of a mild and virtuous disposition, had used all his endeavours to make peace upon all occasions, he now became a professed enemy both to the barons, and the City of London.

After this the lords sent a letter to the King, and protested with all humility and submission that they intended nothing but the performance of their oaths, by defending those laws and ordinances which had been established in parliament for the benefit of the King and the realm. But the King, his brother Richard, and Edward the young prince, thinking nothing more disdainful, than that subjects should rule and command their sovereign; resolved to revenge it, and bid utter defiance to the lords; and both armies met near a town called Lewes, in Sussex, where a cruel battle was fought, and the King, his brother, and the prince, were all taken prisoners, with many other great commanders, and twenty thousand men slain. Yet awhile after, upon some conditions, they were all set at liberty, and the former laws and ordinances were confirmed in parliament, and the King took an oath for confirming the power of the twelve peers.

After which the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, the two generals of the lord's party, fell into a great difference; which Prince Edward taking advantage of, raiseth an army, and persuading the Earl of Gloucester to join with him, they fell upon the Earl of Leicester's army, and utterly routed them, himself, his eldest son, and many others slain. Which overthrow utterly defeated the barons, and revived the melancholy King, who calling a parliament, all the former decrees were made void, together with the power of the twelve peers, and the King regained his former liberty and authority.

When this parliament was ended, the King, perhaps by the instigation of his brother Richard, who was so horribly abused without cause, by the baser sort of the inhabitants of the city, resolved utterly to destroy and consume the City of London by fire, because he said the magistrates and inhabitants had always hated him; and taken part with the lords against him. Whereupon those of the nobility who were most in favor with the King, humbly besought him, by no means to do such an execrable deed, which would not only weaken his own kingdom and government, but would likewise make him infamous throughout the world to all generations.

They were very earnest in their suit, and their reasons were unanswerable: yet the King protested, that he was resolved to do it, and his determination should be unchangeable, and his justice upon such rebellious villains, should be a president to deter all perverse and obstinate rebels and traitors in time to come. This severe resolution

made the citizens tremble, at the indignation of their angry King ; so that perceiving his rage and fury not to be mitigated, they caused an instrument to be drawn in writing, which was confirmed with their common seal, wherein they confessed their rebellion, and humbly craved pardon for the same ; and without any exception or reservation, they wholly submitted their lands, goods, and lives, together with the whole city, to the King's grace and mercy.

This instrument they sent to Windsor to the King, by some of the chiefest of the citizens, who were ordered to present it on their knees ; but so furious was the King's wrath against them, and so implacable was his anger, that he reputed none to be his friends, who interposed as mediators on their behalf ; neither would he admit any of them into his presence, but commanded them immediately to be thrown into prison, and five of the principal of them he gave to the Prince, together with all the lands and goods ; and all the rest he bestowed among his attendants, who made them slaves, and suffered them to enjoy the least part of their own.

But when the King had thus a little revenged himself, and time had cooled his mighty passion, he began to hearken to the importunate intercessions of Prince Edward his son, and soon after received the city and all its inhabitants into favor again, laying only a fine upon them of a thousand marks, he restored to them all their charters, liberties, and customs, which for their transgressions he had seized into his hands.

And now though these intestine troubles and civil wars, which like an outrageous fire dispersed into the midst of a well compacted city, had endangered the whole state of the kingdom, were thus appeased ; and though the Earl of Gloucester by his revolt from the barons, and joining with the prince had greatly furthered this good work, and had caused the King to enjoy a happy peace ; yet was this Earl so little trusted, that he found neither favour nor reward ; but was much slighted, and had but cold entertainment at court, which he highly resented, and meditated revenge.

In this fury he came headlong into the city of London, and complaining of his ill usage, the common people flocked in troops about him, and daringly committed many notorious outrages within the city, forgetting the great calamity they had lately suffered, and what favors they had received. From thence they went to the King's palace at Westminster, which they most barbarously rifled, spoiled, and ransacked. This might have produced another civil war, but the tumult was in a little time dispersed, and the prince again interposed himself

an earnest mediator between the King and all the offenders, and procured a large and free pardon for the Earl of Gloucester, whereby all things were again appeased and quieted.

After which the Earl of Gloucester, and Prince Edward went into the Holy Land, where he continued till after the death of his father.

It is observed of this King Henry the Third, that he was never constant in his love nor his hate, for he never had so great a favourite but he cast him off with disgrace, nor so great an enemy whom he received not into favor. An example of both which qualities was seen in his carriage to Hubert de Burgh, who was for a time the greatest favourite, yet cast out afterward in miserable disgrace, and then no man held in greater hatred, yet received afterward into grace again. And it is strange to read what crimes this Hubert was charged with at his arraignment, and especially one;

That to dissuade a great lady from marrying with the King, he had said, the King was a squint-eyed fool, and a kind of leper, deceitful, perjured, more faint-hearted than a woman, and utterly unfit for any lady's company. For which, and other crimes laid to his charge in the King's Bench, where the King himself was present, he was adjudged so have his lands confiscated, and to be deprived of his title as Earl, yet after all he was restored to his estate again, and suffered to live quiet.

There is likewise an instance of his timorousness in the following passage. The King being in his barge on the Thames, on a sudden the air grew dark, and there followed a terrible shower with thunder and lightning, of which the King being impatient, commanded himself to be put to land at the next stairs, which was Durham House, where Simon Montford, Earl of Leicester, lived; which the Earl having notice of, came to wait on the King, saying, Sir, why are you afraid, the tempest is now past. Whereunto the King with a stern look replied, I fear thunder and lightning extremely, but by the head of God, I fear thee more than all the thunder and lightning in the world. Whereunto the Earl answered, my Leige it is injurious and incredible that you should stand so much in fear of me, who have been always loyal both to you and your kingdom; whereas you ought to fear your enemies, even those that destroy the realm, and abuse your majesty with bad counsels.

In this King's reign the two great charters of Magna Charta and Charta de Foresta were ratified and confirmed. The pleas of crown were likewise pleaded in the Tower of London. All weirs in the Thames, were in this King's time ordered to be pulled up and de-

stroyed. Also the citizens of London were allowed by charter to pass toll-free through England, and to have free liberty of hunting about London: they had likewise licence to have and use a common seal. It was also ordained that no sheriff of London should continue in his office longer than one year, whereas before they continued many; and the city were allowed to present their mayor to the barons of the Exchequer to be sworn, who before was presented to the King wherever he was. In the thirty-second year of his reign, the wharf in London, called Queen-Hith, was farmed to the citizens for fifty pounds a year; which is scarce now worth fifteen.

This King caused a chest of gold to be made for laying up the reliques of King Edward the Confessor, in the church of Westminster. Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, was buried in the church of the Friars preachers in London; to which church he gave his palace at Westminster; which afterward the Archbishop of York bought, and made it his inn, then commonly called York Place, and now Whitehall.

In the thirteenth year of this King, there were great thunders and lightnings, which burnt many houses, and slew both men and beasts. In his fifteenth year, upon St. Paul's day, when Roger Wiger, Bishop of London, was at mass at St. Paul's, the sky suddenly grew dark, and such a terrible thunder-clap fell upon the church, that it was shaken as if it would have fallen; and so great a flash of lightning came out of a dark cloud, that all the church seemed to be on fire, so that all the people ran out of the church, and fell on the ground with astonishment. In 1233, five suns were seen at one time together: after which followed so great a dearth, that people were forced to eat horse-flesh, and barks of trees; and in London twenty thousand were starved for want of bread.

In 1236 the river of Thames overflowed the banks, so that in the great palace at Westminster, men rowed with boats in the midst of the hall. In 1240 many strange fishes came ashore, and among others forty sea bulls, and one of a huge bigness passed through London bridge unhurt till he came to the King's house at Mortlake, where he was killed. In 1263 the Thames, again overflowed the banks about Lambeth, and drowned houses and fields for the space of six miles. And the same year there was a blazing star seen for three months. In 1264 seven hundred Jews were slain in London, their goods spoiled, and their synagogue defaced, because one Jew would have forced a Christian to have paid above two pence a week for the use of twenty shillings.

In 1268 there happened a great quarrel between the goldsmiths and taylors of London, which occasioned much mischief to be done, and many men were slain; for which riot twelve of the ringleaders were hanged. In 1269 the river of Thames was so hard frozen from the last of November to Candlemas, that men and beasts passed over from Lambeth to Westminster, and goods were brought from Sandwich and other port towns by land. In 1271 the steeple of Bow in Cheapside fell down, and slew many people both men and woman. About the same time a child was born near London, who his reported at two years old to have cured all diseases. And at Greenwich near London, a lamb was yeaned which had two perfect bodies, and but one head.

King Henry the Third died November 16, 1272, when he had reigned fifty six years and twenty eight days, and was buried at Westminster, having built a great part of that church. As soon as he was dead, the great lords of the realm caused his eldest son Prince Edward (the first of that name) to be proclaimed King; and assembling at the New Temple in London, they there took order for the quiet government of the realm till he came; for he was at this time in the Holy Land, and had been there above a year when his father died, and performed many great actions; after which, out of envy to his valour, a desperate Saracen, who had been often employed to him from their general, being one time upon pretence of a secret message admitted alone in his chamber, gave him three wounds with a poisoned knife, two in the arm, and one near the armpit, which were thought to be mortal, and perhaps had been so, if out of unspeakable love, the Lady Eleanor his wife had not sucked out the poison of his wounds with her mouth, thereby effecting a cure, which else had been incurable, and it is no wonder that love should do wonders, since it is itself a wonder.

When Edward heard of his father's death, he took it far more heavily, then he did that of his young son Henry, of whose death he had heard a little before, at which when Charles King of Sicily (where he then was) wondered, he answered, he might have more sons, but he could never have another father.

After his return to London, he was crowned at Westminster, August 15th, 1274, and soon after called a parliament, wherein he would admit no church-men to sit, and awhile after he makes war against Baliol King of Scots, whom he takes prisoner with the loss of twenty five thousand Scots, and commits him prisoner to the Tower of London. He likewise brings from Scotland the fatal chair wherein the Kings of Scotland used to be crowned, which now seems to recover

that secret operation, according to the ancient prophecy, that whithersoever that chair should be removed, the kingdom should be removed with it: and this chair King Edward caused to be brought out of Scotland, and to be placed at Westminster among the monuments, where it still continues.

This King restored to the citizens of London their liberties, which for some misdemeanours they had forfeited. In the sixteenth year of his reign, the sun was so exceeding hot, that many men died with the extremity thereof; and yet wheat was sold for three shillings and four pence a quarter at London. This King by proclamation forbid the use of sea-coal in London and the suburbs, for avoiding the noisome smoak. In his time the bakers of London were first drawn upon hurdles, by Henry Wallis, mayor; and corn was then first sold by weight.

In a synod held in his time, it was ordained according to the constitution of the general council, that no ecclesiastical person shall have more than one benefice, with the cure of souls. About this time the new work of the church at Westminster was finished; and the foundation of Black-friars near Ludgate, was laid by Kilwarby Archbishop of Canterbury. And Queen Margaret began to build the quire of the Gray Friars in London, now called Christchurch. In his time was began to be made the great conduit, formerly at the lower end of Cheapside. And Henry Wallis, mayor, made the tun in Cornhill a prison for night-walkers, and likewise built a house at the Stocks Market for fish and flesh, which since the fatal fire in 1666 is demolished and laid into the street.

In the ninth year of his reign, there was such a great frost, that five arches of London bridge, and all Rochester bridge was carried down and borne away. On St. Nicholas day in the evening, were great earthquakes, lightning, and thunder, with a great dragon, and a blazing star, which extremely terrified the people. In his two and twentieth year, three men had their right hands cut off for rescuing a prisoner from an officer of the city of London: and about that time the river of Thames overflowing the banks, made a breach at Rotherhithe near London, and the lower grounds thereabout were all laid under water. In his twenty seventh year, a fire being kindled in the lesser hall of the palace of Westminster, the flames thereof being driven by the wind, fired the monastery next adjoining: which with the palace were both consumed. The same year by an act of common council in London, with the King's consent, it was ordained, that a fat cock should be sold for three halfpence, two pullets for three halfpence, a fat capon for two pence halfpenny, a goose for four pence, a mallard

three halfpence, a partridge three halfpence, a pheasant fourpence, a heron sixpence, a plover one penny, a swan three shillings, a crane twelvepence, two woodcocks three half pence, a fat lamb from Christmas to Shrovetide sixteen pence, and all the year after for fourpence; and wheat was this year so plentiful, that a quarter was sold for ten groats.

In his thirty-William Wall-often caused Scotland, was beheaded, and London.

Edward had four years and died, and was minster, leaving the Ild. called succeed him: of ple had at first tion, but he soon father's admoni- that he should Pierce Gaveston, his companion in ties in his youth. bel, the daughter Fair, of France, veston his chief- which so incon- that they threaten, unless he would banish him his court and king- dom, they would hinder his coronation. Which he promises to do but doth not perform; but on the contrary, bestows so much treasure upon him, that he scarce left means to sustain himself, or to maintain his queen.



W. WALLACE.

second year, lace, who had great trouble in taken, hanged, quartered in

After King reigned thirty-seven months, he buried at West-his son Edward Carnarvan, to whom the peo- great expecta- brake all his tions, especially banish for ever who had been many irregulari- He married Isa- of Philip the and makes Ga- est favourite; sed the lords,

This put the lords into a new discontent, who thereupon went again to the King, and told him plainly, that unless he would put Gaveston out of the court and kingdom, they would rise up in arms against him as a purjured King. Whereupon out of fear, the King sends him to France, where finding no entertainment more than in other places, he soon returns again, and is received into as much favour as before. Whereupon the whole nobility join together (except Gelbert Earl of

Gloucester) and raising forces send to the King, either to deliver Gaveston into their hands, or else to banish him immediately out of the kingdom. But the King, led by evil counsel, still refused. Whereupon the lords hearing where he was, seized him, and cut off his head.

The King being much concerned at his death, to vex the nobility, takes into his nearest familiarity and council, the two Spencers, Sir Hugh the father, and Sir Hugh the son, men as debauched and odious to the lords and the people, as the other was, for they inclined the King to a lewd and wanton course of life among whores and concubines, and to forsake the company of his modest and virtuous Queen, which made him a scorn to foreign princes, and hateful in the sight of all honest men; yet the King, in despite of his lords, supported the Spencers in whatever they did. Whereupon the lords rise in arms, and the King likewise raiseth forces, where a great battle was fought, and the barons were overthrown, and after the fight, two and twenty of the lords were beheaded: which increased the pride and insolence of the Spencers.

Yet the Queen who fled to Germany, soon after returned accompanied with three hundred knights and select men of arms, with whom the lords and the Londoners joined; and seizing upon the Spencers, the father who was fourscore and ten years old, was cruelly executed, having his heart pulled out, and his body left hanging on the gallows while he was alive; and the son, with the King himself were imprisoned: and soon after young Spencer was drawn, hanged and quartered, his head set upon London bridge and his four quarters bestowed in several cities. Then was a parliament called, wherein it was agreed to depose the King, and set up his son, which he (because they threatened to exclude both him and his son, and set up a King of another race) consented to. And thereupon the Bishop of Hereford, and other commissioners, came and sate at a place appointed to take his resignation, and the King coming forth in mourning robes, upon a sudden fell down in a swoon, and could hardly be recovered. After which the Bishop of Hereford declared the cause of their coming. To which the King answered, that as he much grieved his people should be so hardened against him, as utterly to reject him, so it was some comfort to him, that they would yet receive his son to be their Sovereign.

Whereupon Sir William Trussel speaker of the parliament, in the name of the whole kingdom, renounced homage to the King, in these words: I William Trussel, in the name of all the men of the land

of England, and of all the parliament procurator, do resign to thee Edward the homage that was made to thee sometimes, and from this time forward now following, I defy thee, and deprive thee of all royal power, and I shall never be tendant to thee as for King, after this time.

Not long after, this King was murdered by Sir John Matravers and Thomas Gurney, by thrusting an hot spit up his fundament into his bowels, after he had reigned nineteen years and six months, 1327. In the eighth year of his reign, was so great a dearth, that horses and dogs were eaten, and thieves in prison pulled in pieces, those that were newly brought in amongst them, and eat them half alive. Which continuing three years, in the end brought such a pestilence, that the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead. In this King's time, digging the foundation of a work about St. Paul's, were found above an hundred heads of oxen and kine, which confirmed the opinions, that of old time it had been the temple of Jupiter, and that there was the sacrifice of beasts.

Edward of Windsor, eldest son of King Edward the Second, by the order of parliament upon his father's resignation, was proclaimed King of England, January 25th 1327 and soon after a parliament was called, wherein Edmund Earl of Kent, the King's uncle, is accused of intending to restore his brother; upon which he was condemned, and brought to the scaffold, but was so generally beloved of the people, that he stood there from one of the clock till five in the afternoon, before any executioner could be found to do the office, till at last a silly wretch in the Marshalsea was gotten to cut off his head. But the authors of his death escaped not long themselves: for in the third year of the King's reign, another parliament is holden, wherein the Queen hath all her great jointure taken from her, and is put to her pension of a thousand pounds a year, and herself confined to a castle, where she remained the rest of her days, no fewer than thirty years. Time long enough to convince her, that her being the daughter of a King, the wife of a King, and the mother of a King, were glorious titles, but all not worth the liberty of a mean estate.

And Roger Mortimer her minion and favourite, lately created Earl of the Marches of Wales, was seized on this manner. The King taking others with him, went secretly one night by torch-light, through a private way under ground, till they came to the Queen's chamber, where leaving the King without, some of them went in, and found the Queen with Mortimer ready to go to bed; and laying hands on him, they brought him out, after whom the Queen followed, crying, good

son, good son, take pity upon the gentle Mortimer ; suspecting her son had been amongst them. This way was taken to apprehend him, to prevent tumult, he having no less than ninescore knights and gentlemen, besides other meaner servants about him continually. Being thus seized, he is committed to the Tower, and accused of divers crimes, and amongst the rest, that he had been too familiar with the Queen, by whom she was thought to be with child. Of which articles he was found guilty, and condemned, and thereupon is drawn and hanged at the common gallows at the Elms now called Tyburn, where his body remained two days an approbrious spectacle to all beholders.

This King Edward the Third was a victorious Prince, and with the assistance of his son Edward, called the Black Prince, won many considerable victories against the French and Scots, taking both their Kings prisoners, who were committed to the Tower of London. This King instituted the Order of the Garter, upon what cause it is uncertain; the common opinion is, that a garter of his own Queen, or some say, of the Countess of Salisbury slipping off in a dance, King Edward stooped and took it up, whereat some of the lords that were present smiling, as at an amorous action, he seriously said, it should not be long ere sovereign honour were done to that garter. Whereupon he added that French Motto, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, Evil to him that evil thinks : therein checking his lords sinister suspicions.

In the fourth year of his reign the sea banks were overflowed through all England ; but especially in the river Thames, so that all the cattle and beasts near thereunto were drowned. There was likewise found a serpent having two heads, and two faces like a woman, one face drest after the new fashion, and another like the old, with wings like a bat, and men and women perished in divers places by lightning and thunder ; fiends, devils, and apparitions were likewise seen by men, and spoke to them as they travelled. At this time upon the petition of the Londoners, an act was made that no common whore should wear any hood, except striped with divers colours, nor furs, but garments turned wrong side outward. This King confirmed the liberties of the city of London, and ordained that the Lord Mayor should sit in all places of judgment within the liberty of the same as chief justice, the King's person only excepted ; and that every alderman that had been Mayor, should be justice of peace in all London and Middlesex, and every alderman that had not been mayor, should be justice of peace in his own ward. Also he granted to the citizens of London, that they should not be forced without their own consent, to go out of the city.

to fight, or defend the land: and likewise that after that day, the charter and franchises of the city should not be seized into the King's hands, but only for treason and rebellion done by the whole city. Likewise that Southwark should be under the government of the city, and the Lord Mayor to chuse a bailiff there as he pleased. He also granted to the citizens of London, that the officers of the mayor and sheriffs should from that day forward use maces of silver parcel gilt.

In the twenty-second year of his reign, a contagious pestilence arose in the east and south parts of the world, and coming at last to England, it so wasted the people, that scarce the tenth person of all sorts were left alive. There died in London (some say in Norwich) between the first of January, and the first of July, 57,374 persons. This plague lasted nine years. In the thirty-fifth year of his reign, another plague happened, which was called the second pestilence; in which died many lords and bishops. In this King's time a frost lasted from the middle of September to the month of April. In the fourth year of his reign a solemn just, or tournament, was held in Cheapside, London, between the Great Cross and the Great Conduit. In the eleventh year of his reign was so great plenty, that a quarter of wheat was sold at London for two shillings, a fat ox for a noble, a fat goose for two-pence, a pig for a penny, and other things after that rate. But in his twenty-seventh year there was a great scarcity, by reason there fell little or no rain from the end of March to the end of July, and was therefore called the dry summer. John Barns, Mayor of London, gave a chest with three locks and a thousand marks to be lent to young men upon security, and for the use of it, if learned, they were to say the psalm *De Profundis*, &c. for the soul of John Barns; if otherwise, to say a *Pater Noster*: but however the money is lent, the chest stood long after in the chamber of London, without money or security. In the time of the prince's sickness, the King calls a parliament at Westminster, and demands supplies; upon which they demand redress of the grievances of the subject, and among the rest, that John, Duke of Lancaster, and Alice Perice the King's concubine, with others, might be removed from the Court; this woman presuming so much upon the King's favour, that she grew very insolent, and intermeddled with courts of justice, and other offices, where she would sit to countenance her causes. And this was so vehemently urged by the speaker of the House of Commons, that the King rather than want supplies, gave way to it, and so they were all presently put from court. But the Prince dying soon after, they were all recalled to court again, and restored to their former places: and Sir Peter de la More, the speaker, was at

the suit of Alice Perice, confined to perpetual imprisonment, though by making great friends he got his liberty in two years.

About this time bringeth in a veighing against churchmen, religious orders, of Lancaster fa-upon a great con-between him and London; the the Bishop's part Duke of Lan-the Savoy; upon after the tumult, and aldermen to others put in Wickliff is ba-mia, where his nues in great day among that

King Edward fourth year of his fiftieth of his grand-child



JOHN WICKLIFF.

succeeded; of whose unfortunate reign and deposition, you have heard before; we shall therefore only add a few particulars more. In his thirteenth year, a royal just or tournament, was proclaimed to be holden in Smithfield, London, and at the day appointed, about three of the clock in the afternoon, there issued out of the Tower threescore fine horses apparelled for the justs, and upon every one an esquire of honor riding a soft pace; after them came thirty-four ladies of honor, mounted on palfreys, and every lady led a knight with a gold chain. These knights being on the King's side, had their armour and apparel garnished with white harts, and crowns of gold upon their heads, and so they came riding through the streets of London, to Smithfield. This just lasted twenty-four days, all which time the King and Queen lay at the bishop's palace by St. Paul's Church, and kept open house to all comers.

In the year 1389, whilst the King was at Sheen, near London, there swarmed in his court such a multitude of flies and gnats skirmishing

John Wickliff new doctrine, in-the abuses of monks, and other whom the Duke voured. Where-tention arose the Bishop of Londoners take and set upon the caster's house at which the Duke, caused the mayor be displaced, and their rooms, and nished to Bohe-doctrine conti-nervation to this people.

died in the sixty-age, and the reign, and his

Richard the II

one with another, that they were swept away with brooms by heaps, and bushels were filled with them. In the twenty-first year of his reign, King Richard caused the great hall at Westminster to be repaired both with walls, windows, and roofs. In his twelfth year in March, there were terrible winds, and afterward a great mortality and dearth. A dolphin was likewise taken at London Bridge, being ten foot long and very big.

Also in parliament time an image made by Necromancy in wax, as it is said, at an hour appointed, uttered these words, "The head shall be cut off, the head shall be lifted up aloft, the feet shall be lifted up above the head." This happened in that, called the "Marvellous Parliament," not long before that called the "Parliament that wrought wonders."

Henry IV. his uncle, succeeded King Richard, against whom several rebellions were raised; especially one Henry Percy, called Hotspur, and others who were overthrown, King Henry himself killing thirty-six with his own hands; the Earl of Worcester among the rest, was taken and beheaded; with many others, whose heads were set on London Bridge. In this time a parliament was called at Westminster, in which the commons presented a petition to the King and the House of Peers, desiring that the King might have the temporal possessions of the bishops and clergy: affirming that they would maintain 150 earls, 1500 knights, 6200 esquires, and 100 hospitals for maimed soldiers. They desired likewise that clerks convict should not be delivered into the bishop's prison, and that the statute in the second year of his reign, against Lollards, or the followers of John Wickliff might be repealed. But the King denied their petition, and in person commanded them from thenceforth, not to trouble their brains about any such business, since he was resolved to leave the church in as good state as he found it.

In the third year of this King, a blazing star appeared, first at the east, and then sent out fiery streams toward the north, foreshewing perhaps the effusion of blood that followed after in those parts. In the same year the Devil appeared (saith our author) in the likeness of a grey friar, who entering the church, put the people in great fear; and the same hour the top of the steeple was broken down, and half the chancel scattered abroad by a tempest of whirlwind and thunder. In his eighth year, Richard Whittington, Lord Mayor of London, erected Whittington College, with lodgings and weekly allowance for several poor people. He also built Newgate, half of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in Smithfield, and a bountiful library in Christ Church,

and likewise the east end of Guildhall, and a chapel adjoining to it, with a library of stone for keeping the records of the city. The grocers in London purchased their hall in Coney-hoop Lane, for 320 marks. In his twelfth year Guildhall was began to be rebuilt, and of a little cottage made a famous building, as now it is.

J. Gower, poet, new part of St. ry's Church buried. In a holden the of his reign, moved to ed him wherein no met, a tenth and a fifaity; to mand the sented, but mons would seventh year began at ster, which most a whole in a subsidy which was that even friars who were forced pay a noble. sixth year having



JOHN GOWER.

home and abroad, and being too active to be idle, King Henry resolved to go to the Holy Land, and great provision was made for his journey to the Jerusalem; but he needed no such preparations: for being at prayers at St. Edward's Shrine in Westminster Abbey, he was suddenly taken with an apoplexy, and thereupon removed to the Abbot of Westminster's house, when recovering himself, he asked where he was, and being told that it was the Abbot's house, in a chamber called Jerusalem, well then (said he) "The Lord have mercy upon me, for

the famous built a great Mary Overwhere helies parliament ninth year the King have allow every year, parliament of the clergy tenth of the which debishops conthe comnot. In his a parliament Westminster lasted al year, where was granted so severe, priests and lived of alms every one to In the forty of his age, peace at

this is the Jerusalem where an astrologer told me I should die." And here he died, March 20, 1413, aged 46 years; of which he reigned thirteen.

It is worth remembering that all the time of his sickness, he would have his crown set upon his bolster by him, and one of his fits being so strong upon him, that all men thought him to be directly dead; the Prince his son coming in, took away the crown; when the King suddenly recovering his senses, missed it, and asking for it, was told the prince had taken it; whereupon the prince being called, came back with the crown, and kneeling down said, "Sir, to all our judgments and to all our griefs, you seemed directly dead, and therefore I took the crown as being my right; but seeing to all our comforts you live, I here deliver it much more joyfully than I took it, and I pray God you may long live to wear it yourself." Well (said the King sighing) "What right I had to it God knoweth;" but (saith the Prince) "If you die, my sword shall maintain it to be my right against all opposers." Well (saith the King) "I refer all to God; but I charge thee on my blessing, that thou administer the laws justly and equally, avoid flatterers, defer not to do justice, neither be sparing of mercy." And then turning about said, "God bless thee, and have mercy upon thee:" and with these words gave up the ghost. In this King's reign there died of the pestilence in London, above thirty thousand in a short time: and a frost lasted fifteen weeks.

Henry the Vth. succeeded his father, and proved a very wise and valiant King, though the people much doubted of it, because when he was prince he followed such disorderly courses. For getting into company with some lewd fellows, it is said, he lay in wait for the receivers of his father's rents, and in the person of a thief, set upon them and robbed them. Another time when one of his companions was arraigned for felony before the Lord Chief Justice in Westminster Hall, he went to the King's Bench Bar, and offered to take the prisoner away by force, but being withstood by the Lord Chief Justice, he stepped to him and struck him over his face; whereat the judge nothing disturbed, rose up and told him, "That he did not this affront to him, but to the King his father, in whose place he sat; and therefore to make him sensible of his fault, he committed him prisoner to the Fleet."

It was wonderful how calm the prince was in his own cause, who had been so violent in his companions: for he patiently obeyed the judge's sentence, and suffered himself quietly to be led to prison. This passage was very pleasing to the King, his father, to think he had a

judge of such courage, and a son of such submission. But yet for these and some other frolics, the King displaced him from being president of the council, and placed therein his third son John. This made the prince so sensible of his father's displeasure, that he endeavoured to recover his good opinion, by as strange a way as he lost it; for attiring himself in a garment of blue sattin, wrought all with oylet holes of black silk, the needle hanging thereto, and about his arm a thing like a dog's collar, studded with S.S. of gold, he came to the court at Westminster, to whom the King, though not well in health, caused himself to be brought in a chair into his privy chamber, where in the presence of three or four only of his privy council, he demanded of the prince the cause of his unwonted habit and coming; who answered, "That being not only his subject, but his son, and a son always so tenderly beloved by him, he were worthy of a thousand deaths, if he should but intend or imagine the least offence to his majesty, and had therefore prepared himself to be made a sacrifice;" and thereupon reached his dagger, and holding it by the point, he said; "Sir, I desire not to live longer than that I may be thought to be what I am, and shall ever be, your faithful and obedient vassal."

With this or the like answer, the King was so moved, that he fell upon his son's neck, and with many tears embracing him, confessed, "That his ears had been too open to receive reports against him, and promising faithfully, that from thenceforth no reports should cause any disaffection toward him." As soon as this young King was crowned at Westminster, he like King Saul, seemed to have a new heart given him, and became another man than he was before. For calling his old companions and brethren in evil before him, he strictly charged them not to come within ten miles of the court till they had given proof of their reformation. And to prevent their proceeding in ill courses, he gave every one of them a sufficient allowance.

Immediately after a parliament was called at Westminster, where a subsidy was granted without asking, and the commons began to harp upon the old string of taking away the lands of the clergy, which the bishops, fearing the King's inclination, endeavoured to divert, by shewing him the great right he had to the crown of France: which they made so plainly appear, that he alters his arms, and quarters the Flower de Lucis like the King of France; but to do it fairly, he sends ambassadors to Charles the Vith, King of France, requiring him in a peaceable manner to surrender the crown of France. The embassy had five hundred horse to attend them, and were at first honorably received and treated by the Court of France; but when their message

was known, their entertainment was soon altered, and the Dauphin (who managed the affairs of state during the King's sickness) about this time sent a tun of tennis balls to King Henry, in derision of his youth, as fitter to play with them than to manage arms. Which King Henry took in such scorn, that he promised with an oath, "It should not be long before he would toss such iron balls among them, that the best arms of France should not be able to hold a racket to return them."

And accordingly he went with an army into France, and utterly routed the French army at Agincourt, though they were six times as many as the English, killing about nine thousand of them, and taking fifteen hundred prisoners; and on the English part not above six hundred were slain in all.

In the begin- the followers of increased, of Oldcastle was marriage came ham, and in great King. But being synod of London Wickliff's doc- sent for him, and to submit to the church; who only owed sub- majesty, and for stand for the them with his he was cited to Bishop's court, sing was con- synod for an synod the Arch- terbury caused "That the holy not to be transla- lish tongue."

But mark the judgment of God that fell upon his own tongue, whose roots and blade shortly after (as it is recorded) grew so big in his mouth and throat, that he could neither speak nor swallow down meat, but in horror lay languishing, till at last starved by famine, he died.



LORD COBHAM.

ning of his reign, Wickliff greatly whom Sir John chief, who by to be Lord Cob- favor with the accused in a for maintaining trine, the King persuaded him censure of the told the King he- mission to his others, he would truth against life. Upon which appear in the which he refus- demned by a heretic; in which bishop of Can- it to be ordained, scriptures ought ted into the Eng-

After this, Sir John Oldcastle was taken, and he, Sir Roger Acton, and twenty-eight more, were executed at St. Giles's in the Fields and in Smithfield, for heresy; and all the prisons in and about London were filled with his followers.

In the third year of this king's reign, on Candlemas Day, seven dolphins came up the river Thames, whereof four were taken. This king had such command in France, that their own chronicles testify in the Court of Chancery in Paris, all things were sealed with the seal of King Henry of England. In the second year of his reign, Moorgate, near Coleman Street, was first made by Thomas Fawkenor, Mayor of London, who caused the water of this city to be turned into the Thames in Wallbrook, by causing grates in divers places.

King Henry the Fifth died in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and the ninth of his reign, leaving his son Henry to enjoy his crown, who was but eight months old when his father died, yet by the Duke of Bedford, regent of France, is proclaimed King of England and France, at Paris, and at nine years old was proclaimed King there, receiving the oaths and fealty of all the French nobility.

This king was very weak in judgement, and was ruled only by his queen, which occasioned him very great trouble; for they used his authority for the destruction of the Duke of Gloucester, and several other persons, who was much beloved of the people. About which time the Duke of York began to whisper his right to the crown, as descended from Philippa, daughter and heir to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, elder brother to John of Gaunt, and great grandfather to the present King Henry the Sixth; and it was privately discoursed, "That King Henry was of a weak capacity, and easily abused, and the Queen who was near to the French Queen, was of a malignant spirit, and bloodily ambitious, the privy council is wise enough, yet not honest enough, regarding more their own private profit than the public good; and that through their neglect, all France was lost, and that God would not bless the usurped possessions of King Henry." With these suggestions the Kentish men seemed to be taken, which being observed by an instrument of the Duke of York, one Mortimer, he takes opportunity to tell the people, "That if they will be ruled by him, he will shew them the way to make a thorough reformation, and prevent the taxes that are upon every slight occasion laid upon them."

These promises of reformation and freedom so wrought with the people, that they drew to a head, and made Mortimer, otherwise called Jack Cade, their leader, who stiled himself Captain Mend-all; with whom they came to Blackheath, and lay there about a month;

sending for whom and what he pleased. He then presents the complaint of the commons to the parliament; who sent them to the privy council, but they explode them as frivolous, and charge the authors to be presumptuous rebels; and thereupon the King raiseth an army, and brings them to Greenwich; but the lords could get no followers to fight against them, who fought only for reformation of abuses, and for punishment of such traitors as they said the Lord Say was. The Lord Say is hereupon committed to the Tower, and the King and Queen retire to London; and Cade follows and comes to Southwark, where he quarters his men; and next morning marcheth to London Bridge, where he caused his followers to cut the rope of the draw-bridge, no resistance being made against him, and so in good order marched up to London-stone, upon which he struck his sword, saying, "Now is it Mortimer Lord of London." He then sent for Lord Say out of the Tower, and cut off his head at the standard in Cheapside, and also the head of Sir James Cromer, High Sheriff of Kent; but upon the King's general pardon, his followers leave him, and he is soon after slain; and with the execution of eight more, though five hundred were found guilty, this insurrection was suppressed.

It was a custom that upon St. Bartholomew's Day, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, should go to the wrestling-place near Moor-fields, where at this time the Prior of St. John's likewise was to see the sport; and a servant of his being ashamed to be foiled before his master, desired to wrestle again, contrary to custom, which the Lord Mayor denied; whereupon the Prior fetched bow-men from Clerkenwell against the Mayor, and some slaughter was made; the Mayor's cap was shot through with an arrow, yet he would have the sport go on, but no wrestler's came: whereupon he said, "He would stay awhile to make trial of the citizens respect to him;" and presently after a great party of them came with banners displayed, and fetched him home in triumph. Soon after another quarrel happened in Holborn between the gentlemen of the Inns of Chancery, and some Citizens, in appeasing whereof, the Queen's attorney and three more slain. The year after the apprentices of London, upon a very slight occasion, fell upon the foreign merchants, rifling and robbing their houses, but the Lord Mayor by his discretion appeased the tumult, punishing some of the offenders with death, and others by fine, and all things are quieted and appeased.

In the year 1460, the Duke of York comes from Ireland to London, and in the name of King Henry the VIth, called a parliament, which being assembled, he in the presence of the lords in the Upper House,

placed himself in the imperial seat, and with great boldness lay open his claim to the crown of England. And then relating the many miseries that had befallen the realm since this usurpation of the present King, his father, and grandfather; he concluded that he would not expect, nor desire possession of the crown except his descent was indisputable, and his title thereto without exception. This being a business of importance, it required deliberation, but in conclusion, the Duke having before-hand prepared the lords spiritual, and a few of nobility being present that were not of his side, the House of Commons were easily persuaded, and it was resolved, and accordingly an act of parliament was made, "That King Henry, during his life, should retain the name and honor of a King, and that the Duke of York should be proclaimed heir apparent to the crown, and protector of the King's person, his lands and dominions. And that if at any time any of King Henry's friends, allies, or favourites, should on his behalf attempt the disannulling of this act, that then the Duke should have present possession of the crown." It was observed that while the Duke of York was declaring his title in the Upper House, it happened that a crown which hung in the middle of the House of Commons, without any touch or wind, fell down; and at the same time the crown which stood upon Dover Castle fell down likewise; a sign as some thought, that the crown of the realm should be changed.

As soon as this parliament was dissolved, the Duke sends for the Queen and some others, to come out of Scotland. But they had raised an army there, and the Duke of York met them with another; and at Wakefield Green the Duke is slain, with the loss of three thousand of his men, and being dead, had his head crowned with a paper crown, together with many other circumstances of disgrace. However his son Edward, Earl of March, prosecutes the quarrel, and puts the Queen's forces to flight, which she endeavoured to recruit; but some of her northern army having robbed the people as they came along the country, saying, "It was their bargain to have all the spoil in every place." The Londoners would not suffer any provision to be sent to them, the Commons rising about Cripplegate, and stopping the carts which the Lord Mayor was sending to the army.

In the mean time the Earls of March and Warwick having got a considerable army, marched to London, and were joyfully received there. And soon after the Earl of Warwick drawing all his forces into St. John's field, by Clerkenwell, and having cast them in a ring, he read to them the agreement of the last parliament, and then demanded, whether they would have King Henry to reign still? who

all cried out, no, no. Then he asked them, whether they would have the Earl of March, eldest son of the Duke of York, by that parliament proclaimed King, to reign over them? who with great shouting answered, yes, yes. Then several captains and others of the city, went to the Earl of March, at Baynard's Castle, to acquaint him what had passed; who at first seemed to excuse himself, as unable to execute so great a charge: but encouraged by the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London and Exeter, and the Earl of Warwick, he at last consented to take it upon him; and soon after he was generally proclaimed King: and here writers end the reign of King Henry the Sixth, though there were several changes. For sometimes he was a King, and sometimes none, yet he was never well settled, though he lived twelve years after.

King Henry was then in the north, and raised an army to oppose Edward, but is defeated by the Lord Falconbridge. Upon which Henry and his Queen go to Scotland, and raise more forces, but are again beaten. And now King Edward sits three days together in the King's Bench in Westminster Hall, to hear causes and regulate disorders. And the Earl of Warwick is sent into France to treat of a marriage with that King's daughter: but in the mean while the King marries the Lady Elizabeth Gray. At which Warwick grows discontented, and joins against King Edward, and surprising him, takes him prisoner, but he soon made his escape. King Henry was taken in disguise and sent to the Tower of London some years before. And now Warwick going to France, brought a great army over, and proclaimed Edward an usurper; who thereupon endeavoured to raise an army, but could not, and therefore fled out of England into the Duke of Burgundy's country, and King Henry is taken out of prison, where he had been nine years, and again proclaimed King.

But King Edward, by the assistance of the Duke of Burgundy, lands an army in Yorkshire, and marches towards London, where he was joyfully received. And in the year 1471, and the eleventh year of his reign, King Edward made his entry into the city, and had King Henry delivered into his hands. The Earl of Warwick having notice thereof, marched with his army toward St. Albans, and King Edward follows him, carrying King Henry along with him; where the Earl of Warwick and many others are slain, and Henry's party utterly routed.

And now was the time for King Henry to be delivered out of all his troubles; for the bloody Duke of Gloucester entering the Tower of London, where he found King Henry nothing at all troubled for all

his crosses, struck him into the heart with his dagger, and there slew him. And now within half a year's space, we find one parliament proclaimed Edward an usurper, and Henry a lawful King; and another proclaiming Edward a lawful King, and Henry an usurper; that we may know there is nothing certain in human affairs, but uncertainty.

In the fifth year of King Henry the VIth it rained almost continually from Easter to Michaelmas. In his seventh year the Duke of Norfolk was like to have been drowned passing through London bridge, his barge being set upon the piles, so overwhelmed that thirty persons were drowned, and the Duke with others that escaped, were fain to be drawn up with ropes. In his seventeenth year was so great a dearth of corn, that people were glad to make bread of fearn roots. Next year all the lions in the Tower died. In the thirty-third year of his reign, there was a great blazing star, and there happened a strange sight, a monstrous cock came out of the sea, and in presence of a multitude of people, made a hideous crowing three times, beckening toward the north, south, and west. There were also many prodigious births, and in some places it rained blood.

About this time the draw-bridge on London bridge was made, and Leadenhall was built to be a store-house of grain and fuel for the poor of the city. In the first year of this King's reign, a parliament was held at London, where the Queen-mother with the young King in her lap, came and set in the House of Lords. In this King's reign printing was first brought into England by William Caxton of London, Mercer, who first practised the same in the Abbey of Westminster, 1471.

This King Henry lost his kingdom when he had reigned thirty-eight years, six months, and odd days. The day after he was murdered he was brought to St. Paul's church in an open coffin bare-faced, where he bled, and from thence carried to Black-friars, where he also bled, and lastly was buried at Windsor.

In the first year of King Edward the Fourth, Walter Walker, Grocer, living in Cheapside, was beheaded for speaking some words against King Edward. In his fourth year there was a great pestilence, and the Thames was frozen over. In his fourteenth year, John Grose was burnt on Tower-hill for regilion. The same year King Edward in his progress, hunting in Sir Thomas Burdell's park, slew many deer, and among the rest a white buck, which Sir Thomas hearing of, wished the buck's head, horns and all, in his belly who moved the King to kill him. Upon which words he was condemned to die, and being drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn, was there beheaded. Next year George Duke of Clarence, King Edward's brother, was

drowned in the Tower in a butt of Malmsey. In his twenty-second year some thieves for robbery in St. Martin's le Grand, were drawn to Tower Hill and there hanged and burnt, and others were pressed to death.

In this King's time, Richard Rawson, one of the sheriffs of London, caused a house to be built at St. Mary Spittle, for the Lord Mayor and aldermen, to hear sermons in the Easter Holidays.

King Edward the Fourth being dead, his eldest son Edward, not above eleven years old, was proclaimed King, but never crowned; for the Duke of Gloucester hearing of his brother's death, came to London, and having got the King and his brother the Duke of York, into his hands, sends them to the Tower, and murders Lord Hastings, who was true to Edward, and then endeavours to prove the two children of Edward illegitimate, whereby he at last attained the crown by the name of Richard the Third, and afterwards persuades Sir James Tyril to murder the two young princes in the Tower, who getting two villains as bad as himself, they come to the children's chamber in the night, and suddenly wrapping them up in their cloths, and keeping down by force the feather bed and pillows hard upon their mouths, so stifled them that their breaths being gone, they surrendered up their innocent souls; and when the murderers perceived first by their struggling with the pains of death, and then by their long lying still, that they were thoroughly dead, they laid their bodies out, and then called Sir James Tyril to see them, who presently caused their bodies to be buried under the stairs. But these murderers came all to miserable ends; and King Richard himself, after this abominable act, never had a quiet mind, but was troubled with fearful dreams, and would sometimes start out of his bed and run about the chamber in a great fright, as if all the furies in hell were about him, as he did the night before the battle of Bosworth Field, where he was slain by King Henry the Seventh, who succeeded him to the crown.

King Richard took away from Jane Shore, one of King Edward's concubines, all her goods, to the value of above 3000 marks; and afterward caused her to do penance before the cross, for her inconstancy, with a taper in her hand: when, though undressed, yet she appeared so fair and lovely, and likewise so modest, that many who hated her course of life, yet pitied her course usage, since she used all the favor she had with King Edward, to the good of many, but never to the hurt of any. And truly she had cause to complain against Richard for being so severe for her offending against the seventh Commandment,

only, when he did no penance for offending heavily against all ten. But perhaps he got some good fellow to be his confessor.

After Richard back) was slain, venth was pro- in whose time veral general admitting poor *Forma Pauperum* paying fees to Another, that shall assist by wise, the King ever after be thereof, or at- course of law, liament; and of attainder be made, it and of none fifth year it was Parliament of London the conserva- Thames, from to the waters of



JANE SHORE.

(called Crook- Henry the se- claimed King, were made se- laws; as that for people to sue in *vis*, without attornies, &c. no person that arms, or other- in being, shall impeached tainted by or act of Par- if any such act did happen to should be void effect. In his ordained by that the Mayor should have tion of the River Staines Bridge Yeudale and

Medway. In the seventeenth year of his reign, John Shaw, Lord Mayor of London, caused his brethren the aldermen to ride from Guildhall to the water-side when he went to Westminster to be presented to the Exchequer. He also caused kitchens and other conveniences to be built in Guildhall. This king was the first that ordained a company of tall proper men to be yeomen of the guard, and to attend the person of the king, to whom he appointed a livery and a captain over them. In his eighteenth year, king Henry being free of the Tailor's company, as divers kings before had been, namely Richard the second, Henry the fourth, fifth and sixth, Edward the fourth, and Richard the third, as also eleven dukes, twenty-eight earls, and forty-eight lords. He therefore now gave them the name of Merchant Taylors, as an honourable title to endure for ever.

The 22d of August 1485, the very day King Henry got the victory over King Richard, a great fire happened in Bread Street, London, in which was burnt the parson of St. Mildreds, and one person more. In his tenth year, in digging a new foundation in the church of St. Mary-hill in London, the body of Alice Hackny, who had been buried one hundred and seventy-five years before, was found whole of skin, and the joints of her arms pliable: the corps was kept above ground four days without annoyance, and then buried again. In his twelfth year on St. Bartholomew's day, there fell hail stones measured twelve inches about. The great tempest which drove King Philip of Spain into England, blew down the golden eagle from the spire of St. Pauls, and in the fall, it fell upon the sign of the black eagle in St Paul's church yard, where the school house now is, and broke it down. This King was frugal from his youth, the city of London was his paradise, for what good fortune soever befel him, he thought he enjoyed it not, till he acquainted them with it. His parliament was his oracle, for in all matters of importance he would ask their advice; yea, he put his prerogative many times in their hands: after he had lived fifty-two years, and reigned twenty-three, he died April 22d 1508.

Henry the Eighth, his only son, succeeded him. In the ninth year of his reign, in May eve, there was an insurrection of the young men and apprentices of London against foreigners; for which riot several of them were hanged, and the rest, to the number of four hundred men, and eleven women, tyed in ropes one to another, and in their shirts came to Westminster Hall with halters about their necks, and were pardoned. In his twenty third year, Richard Price, a cook, was boiled to death in Smithfield, for poisoning divers persons in the Bishop of Winchester's house. One Cartnel the hangman of London, and two others, were hanged near Clerkenwell, for robbing a booth in Bartholomew fair. About this time Queen Ann of Bullen was beheaded in the Tower, with her brother, and divers other gentlemen. In his fifteenth year, after great rains and winds, there followed so sharp a frost that many died of cold, some lost their fingers, some toes, and many their nails. In his twentieth year there was a great sweating sickness, which infected all places in the realm. In his thirty-sixth year a great plague was in London, so that Michaelmas term was kept at St. Albans. A Priest was set in the pillory in Cheapside, and burnt in both cheeks with F and A for false accusing. In his thirty-fourth year, Margaret Dary a maid-servant, was boiled to death in Smithfield for poisoning three households where she lived. This year there were four eclipses of the Sun and three of the Moon. King Henry deceased when he had reigned thirty-seven years and lived fifty-six.

King Edward the Sixth succeeded, being but nine years old. In his time the reformation began, which King Henry had made way for, by renouncing the Pope's supremacy, though himself died a Papist. Edward was an excellent Prince, and ordered the pulling down of all Popish images and pictures; and it was observed, that the very same day that images were pulled down at London, the English obtained a great victory over the Scots at Muscledborough. This King upon a sermon preached by Bishop Ridley concerning charity, gave three houses in London to the relief of the poor. For the fatherless, and beggar's children he gave the Gray Friars, now called Christ-church: to the lame and diseased persons, St. Thomas's hospital in Southwark, and St. Bartholomew's in West Smithfield: and for vagrant idle persons, he gave his house of Bridewell. In the second year of his reign there was a great plague in London. In his third year Thomas Seymour Lord Admiral, and brother to the Lord Protector, was beheaded on Tower-hill. King Edward having reigned seven years, died, being but sixteen years of age. And the Lady Jane Gray daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, was proclaimed Queen by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, as being made heir to the crown by the last will of King Edward; upon which the Lady Mary flies to Farmingham castle in Suffolk, and there, upon her solemn promise and engagement not to alter the religion established, nor to bring in Popery, the gentlemen of that country and Norfolk joined with her, and soon after she obtained the crown.

But Queen Mary quickly forgot her obligations; for as soon as she was settled upon the throne, she presently removed all the Protestant bishops, and put others in their room, and persecuted the Protestants with all manner of cruelty: so that in her short reign of five years and four months, there suffered, upon the account of religion only, two hundred and seventy-seven persons of all sorts and ages; for there perished by the cruel flames, five bishops, twenty one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred husbandmen, servants and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants, one sprung out of the mother's womb as she was burning at the stake, and most unmercifully flung into the fire at the very birth: sixty-four more in those furious times were persecuted in the faith, whereof seven were whiped, sixteen perished in prison, twelve buried in dunghills, and many more lay in captivity and condemned, who were happily delivered by the glorious entrance of Queen Elizabeth, though she herself hardly escaped, being imprisoned in the Tower of London, every day expecting the tidings of her death, her

servants were kept from her, and none but rustical soldiers about her: nay because a little boy did but bring her flowers sometimes in the Tower, he was threatened to be whiped if he went any more, her jailors pretended the child brought letters to her. Yea, the bloody Bishop Gardiner invented and contrived a warrant under Queen Mary's hand for her execution, which was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower; but the Queen hearing of it, denied her having any knowledge of it, and threatened Gardiner and some others, for their inhuman usage of her sister, whereby she happily escaped.

In the first year of Queen Mary's reign, one Sir Thomas Wiat of Kent, put himself in arms to prevent her marriage with Philip King of Spain, as tending to bring England under the yoke of Spain, and to make the country a slave to strangers. And divers other knights and gentlemen joining with him, he marcheth to London, and coming to Charing Cross, he was encountered by the Lord Chamberlain and Sir John Gage, whom he put to flight; but coming to Ludgate he is denied entrance, and thinking to retire, he heard the Earl of Pembroke with his forces was behind him at Charing Cross; upon which being amazed, after a little musing, he returned toward Temple-Bar, and yielded himself to Sir Maurice Berkely, and getting upon his horse behind him, went to the court, where expecting the Queen's mercy, but he was sent to the Tower, and soon after beheaded on Tower-hill.

About this time the Lord Guilford Dudley, the husband of Queen Jane, the Duke of Northumberland his father, and likewise Queen Jane and her father the Duke of Suffolk, were beheaded on Tower-hill. In her fourth year, hot burning agues and other strange diseases, took away many people, so as between October 20th and the last of December, there died seven Aldermen of London: In her fifth year, on the last of September, fell so great store of rain, that Westminster Hall was full of water, the boats rowed over Westminster bridge to King street. About which time a blazing star was seen all times of the night from the sixth to the tenth of March.

Queen Mary being dead, Queen Elizabeth is proclaimed, and brought from Hatfield in Hartfordshire to London, where she was received with great joy. She restored and settled the Protestant reformation, though great offers were made her by the Pope, if she would become Papist. In her first year William Geoffry was whiped from the Marshalsea to Bedlam, for publishing that one John More was Jesus Christ; and More after he had been well whiped confessed himself to be a couzening knave. A terrible tempest of thunder and lightning happened at London, which fired the lofty spire of St. Paul's

steeple, beginning about the top thereof which was two hundred feet high from the top of the stone battlements, and burnt down to the roof of the church, consuming all the bells, lead, and timber work. In 1564, was a great frost, so that great numbers of people went over the Thames, and played thereon from London bridge to Westminster. On the third of January it began to thaw, and on the fifth no ice was to be seen. In the twentieth year of her reign a blazing star was seen with a long stream. About this time one Simon Pembroke of Southwark being suspected to be a conjurer, was ordered to appear in St. Mary Overies church, which he did, and leaning his head against a pew, the proctor lifted up his head, and found him dead, and rattling in the throat: and being searched, several devilish books of conjuration were found about him.

In her thirty-fifth year there was so great a drought, that not only the fields but the springs themselves were dried up, and many cattle died every where for want of water. The river of Thames likewise failed, so that a horse-man might ride over at London bridge. In her thirty-sixth year was a great plague in London and the suburbs, whereof died seventeen thousand eight hundred and ninety, besides the Lord Mayor and three Aldermen.

About this time Edmund Coppinger and Henry Arthington gentlemen, came to Cheapside, and there in a cart proclaimed (as they said) news from heaven, that one William Hacket represented Christ, by partaking of his glorified body, and that they were the two prophets, one of mercy, the other of judgement, sent of God to help him in this great work. These men were apprehended, and Hacket was arraigned, and found guilty of speaking divers false and traiterous words against the Queen, and to have raced and defaced her pictures, thrusting an iron instrument into the place of the heart and breast; for which he was brought from Newgate to Cheapside, and being moved to ask God and the Queen's forgiveness, he fell to cursing and railing against the Queen, and made a blasphemous prayer against the divine Majesty of God, and was therefore hanged and quartered. Coppinger starved himself wilfully in Bridewel, and Arthington made a recantation.

In the forty-third year of her reign Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, assisted by divers noblemen and gentlemen, entered the city of London in warlike manner at Temple Bar, crying for the Queen, till they came to the Sheriff's house in Fenchurch-street, who finding himself not master of his own house, escaped out at a back-door, and went to the Lord Mayor. And Essex finding the citizens in arms against him, endeavoured to fortify his house: but hearing that some great guns

were sent for to beat it down, he surrendered himself, and was sent to the Tower, where he was afterward beheaded; but might have kept his head longer on, had he not been betrayed by Lady Walsingham; to whom after his condemnation he sent a ring, which the Queen had given him in token that she would stand by him in any danger: the Lady delivered not this ring, but being a little after upon her death-bed she desired to speak with the Queen, to whom having disburthened her conscience, the Queen flung away in extreme rage and fury, and never enjoyed herself well after that time, but would often break out into a passion, and wring her hands, crying, O Essex! Essex! and died not long after.

After her death King James succeeded, in the third year of whose reign, was contrived the powder treason plot, for which Sir Edward Digby, Robert Winter, Graunt, and Bates were drawn, hanged, and quartered at the west end of St. Paul's; and Winter, Keys, Rookwood, and Faulks, at the parliament yard at Westminster. Awhile after, the King attended with divers lords, dined with the Lord Mayor, Sir John Watts, who after dinner presented his Majesty with a purse of gold, desiring he would please to be made free of the company of Clothworkers, to which the King consented, and calling to the master of the company, he said, "Stone, give me thy hand, I am now a Clothworker, and in token of my special favour to this fraternity, I do hereby give to this company a brace of bucks yearly for ever; at the election of master and wardens." And a month after the King and the Prince dined at Merchant Taylor's hall, where the Prince was made free of that company, and had likewise a purse of gold presented him by the Master.

In 1609, the New Exchange being newly finished, was first opened and named by King James, Britain's Bourse. In 1612, Edward Wightman was burnt for an heretic, and one Legat burnt in Smithfield for an Arian. In 1615, Sir Thomas Overbury was poisoned in the Tower, for which the Earl of Somerset and his lady were arraigned and condemned, and Sir Gervase Elvis lieutenant of the Tower, Mistress Turner, and divers others executed. In 1618 the famous Sir Walter Raleigh was beheaded in the New Palace Yard, Westminster. Next year Queen Anne died at Hampton Court. In 1623, a Popish priest being at mass, in Black Friars, in an upper room, it fell down, and many were killed and hurt. In 1625, King James died, having reigned twenty-two years.

King Charles his son succeeded him, and was married to Henrietta Maria of France. In his first year was a great plague, whereof there

died in London 35417. In 1628 Doctor Lamb was murdered in the streets of London, for which the city was fined six thousand pounds; the same year hanged at Ty-dering the Duke

In 1633, the Queenweremag-tainied at Guild-the long parlia-in 1642 posts and dered to be set

But having al-particular ac-sages in this till the restora-sent Majesty the Second, in a The Wars of land and Ireland peating anything only add: That General Monk Scotland, came after having gates, &c. of the

the remnant of the long parliament, he afterwards grew dissatisfied at their proceedings, and going into the city was received with bonfires, and soon after that parliament was dissolved, and his Majesty happily restored May 29, 1660. In October following several of the regicides of the late King were executed at Charing Cross, that is, Harrison, Carew, Cook, Scot, Hugh Peters, Clement Scroop, Jones; and Hacket and Axtel at Tyburn. In January, one Venner a wine cooper, and some others of enthusiastic principles, made an insurrection in London, their leader persuading them that one should chase a thousand. They first marched to St. Thomas Apostles, and from thence to Bishopgate, Whitecross-street and from thence they went to Highgate and Canewood. And three days after they came again into the city, being not above thirty or forty in number, but armed with blunderbusses and head-pieces; and the trained-bands and some of the King's guards fell upon them and routed them; about five or six of them were killed, others fled, and the rest were taken prisoners. Their words, it is said, were,



MRS. TURNER.

John Felton was burn for mur-of Buckingham. King and the nificently enter-hall. In 1640, ment began, and chains were or-up in the city.

ready given a count of all pas-king's reign, and ion of his pre-King Charles little book called England, Scot-I shall omit re-here, but shall in the year 1659, marching from to London, and pulled down the city by order of

the quarters upon the gates, meaning those regicides that were executed a while before, whose quarters were put upon the gates of the city. Venner and nineteen of his accomplices were arraigned and condemned, and he and several of them executed in divers parts of the city.

In 1661, his Majesty proceeded magnificently from the Tower to Whitehall, and was next day crowned at Westminster. And soon after there was a general muster of the forces of the City of London, at Hyde Park, consisting of two regiments of horse, and twelve regiments of foot. In 1662, Sir Henry Vane was beheaded on Tower Hill, and Corbet, Berkstey, and Okey, three of the regicides sent from Holland, were executed at Tyburn. In the year 1665, there was a great plague, whereof there died in London, in one year, 68596 persons. In 1666, September 2, about one of the clock in the morning, a sudden fire broke out in Pudding-Lane near London Bridge, which in four days burnt down 13,200 houses. In 1678, Dr. Oats and Dr. Tongue discovered a horrid popish plot against his Majesty, the protestant religion and government established: and October 10, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, who took the examinations, was murdered. William Staley, a papist, was executed for treason, Edward Coleman, Ireland, Grove and Pickering, executed for the plot; Green, Berry, and Hill for the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. In the year 1679, the Lords Powis, Stafford, Arundel, Peters, and Bellasis, were committed to the Tower for high treason, and soon after the Earl of Danby was committed thither. The King dissolves his privy council, and calls another. Langhorn the counsellor was executed. The Parliament is dissolved, having sat about 18 years: another called, and dissolved. Upon 30th of November, 1680, Lord Viscount Stafford was arraigned before his Peers in Westminster Hall, the House of Commons managing the impeachment against him: the trial continued till the seventh of December following, and he was then found guilty of high treason, by the surpulsage of twenty-four voices more against him than for him: and upon Wednesday, December 29, about ten in the morning, the Sheriff of London received the prisoner from the Lieutenant of the Tower, and conducted him to the scaffold prepared for that purpose upon Tower Hill, and there he was beheaded. Upon Wednesday, June 15, 1681, Oliver Plunket, Titular Primate of Ireland, and Archbishop of Dublin, was brought to the King's Bench bar, and there received sentence to be drawn, hanged and quartered for high treason, in conspiring the death of the King, and designing to bring in a French army, and introduce popery into the kingdom of Ireland; he having been convicted for it some few days before, at the same place: together with

Edward Fitz-Harris, for contriving a treasonable and malicious libel to stir up the people to rebellion against the King and government; who likewise received the same sentence of death at the same time.

Not many days before, the Lord Howard of Escrick was committed prisoner to the Tower of London, upon an information of high treason; and upon June 20, he was brought up to the King's Bench bar, and by his counsel moved that he might be put in bail for his appearance, but it was denied him, and he remanded back to prison.

The

*The Origin and Foundation of the famous
City of London.*

THOUGH it may seem difficult to discover the origin of some nations and cities, yet it is no hard matter to find out the foundation of this most honorable and famous City of London.

But as the Roman writers to magnify the City of Rome, drew its origin from the Gods, and Demy-Gods, by the race of the Trojans, so Jeffery of Monmouth our Welsh historian, for the greater glory of this renowned city, deduced it from the same origin, relating that Bruce who descended from the Demy-God Æneas, the son of Venus, daughter of Jupiter, about the year of the world 2855, and 1108 years before the Nativity of our blessed Saviour, built this city near the river now called Thames, and named it Troynovant, or Trenovant; but this account has no great authority. The same historian tells us, that King Lud afterward repaired and increased this city with fair buildings, towers and walls, and called it after his own name Faire Lud or Lud's town, and the gate which he built in the west part thereof, he likewise for his own honor named Ludgate. He adds, that this Lud had two sons, Androgeus and Theomahitius, who being not of age to govern at the death of their father, their uncle Cassibelan took upon him the crown; in the eighth year of whose reign, Julius Cæsar arrived in England with a formidable army to conquer it, and obliged the Britons to pay a yearly tribute to Rome. Cæsar calls London the city of Trinobantes, which sounds somewhat like Troy Nova, though learned men think that Trinobantes signifies the state or signiory of the Trinobantes.

But in those days, the cities of the Britons were not artificially built with stone or timber but were only thick, and troublesome woods plashed together, and intrenched round, like those which the Irish at this day call Fastnesses; some are of opinion that whence London had her fame, from thence she had also a name, that is from ships, which the Britons call Lough, and Dinan a town, so that London is no other than Shipton, a town of ships; which title no city hath more

right to assume than this, being situated upon the gentle ascent of an hill, near a gallant navigable river, which swelling at certain times with the ocean-tides, she is able by her deep and safe channel to entertain the greatest ships, which bring in all the richest commodities the world can afford.

Some would have Llwndian the Welsh name of London, to be derived from Llhwn which signifies a fenced town, made of trees cast down and barricadoed together, as aforementioned, for so the Poet sings.

Their houses were the thicks,
And bushy queachy hollow caves,
And hurdles made of sticks.

And it is probable, that in the place were St. Paul's church now stands, there was a wood or grove, and a temple dedicated to Diana, which was usually set up in the woods; and in a place about St. Paul's there were the heads and bones of oxen lately found, which is supposed were offered in sacrifice to her.

Now though it be not certainly known, who was the founder of London, yet whoever it was, he shewed much prudence in choice of situation; for she seems to have been built in an happy hour, having continued for so many ages; Amianus Marcellinus who wrote near thirteen hundred years ago, calls her then, an Ancient City.

When the Romans had reduced the hither parts of Britain into the form of a province, and had sown the seeds of civility here, as well as over all Europe, this city began to be renowned for wealth, riches, and prosperity, yea she continued always the same under the Romans, Saxons, and Normans, being seldom or never afflicted with any great calamities. In the reign of Nero, when the Britons had conspired to recover their lost liberty, under the conduct of Boadicia, the Londoners could not with all their weeping and lamentations, keep Suetonius Paulinus in the city, but after he had raised a power of the citizens, he would needs go from thence, leaving the city naked to the enemy, who presently surprized it, and slew those whom either weakness, feebleness, or sweetness of the place, had detained there. Nor was London in less danger by the Gauls or French, if she had not been wonderfully preserved, for when Caius Alectus, had treacherously destroyed Carausius, he kept to himself the revenues of Britain and Holland, and called himself Augustus Emperour, as his coins often found here do demonstrate; but when Marcus Asclepiodotus had slain him in battle, those French who remained alive after the fight, hastening to London, would have plundered the city, had not the

river Thames, (which never failed to help the Londoners at need) very happily brought the Roman legions to their assistance, who put the barbarians to the sword all the city over. About which time it is recorded, that Lucius Gallus was slain by a brookside which ran almost through the city, and of him was called by the Britons, Wantgall, in English, Walbrook, which name remains to this day, under which there is a sewer within the ground, to carry the kennel water of the city into the Thames. This is not far from London-stone, which is

thought to be a Miliary, such as ket places of which were of journies every seems more pro- this stone is near city as it lieth in

After this Julius man lieutenant, Britons to build selves, and temples, to bring up learning, and to selves like Ro- a few years after tivity, she be- but especially for merchants, pro- thereof, as Cor- notes, and was some authors others Augusta, name her fame

an ancient author, which is thus translated by Philemon Holland:



P. HOLLAND.

Milcmark, or were in the mar-Rome, from taken dimensions way, which bable, because the midst of the length.

Agricola the Ro- persuaded the ouses for them- ples for their heir children in apparel them- mans; so that in our Saviour's na- came famous, the multitude of vision and trade nelius Tacitus then called by Londinum, by under which is celebrated by

This city was Augusta call'd
To which (a truth to say)
Air, land, sea, and all elements
Shew favour every way.

The weather no where milder is,
The ground most rich to see,
Which yields all sorts of useful fruit
That never spent will be.

The ocean that with Thames her streams
His flowing tide doth blend,
Conveys to it commodities
All that the world can send.

The noble seat of Kings it is;
For state and royalty
Of all the realm, the fence, the heart,
The life, the light, the eye.

The people ancient, valorous,
Expert in chivalry,
Enriched with all sorts of goods,
Of art, or mystery.

Take a strict view of every thing
And then say thus in brief,
This either is a world itself
Or of the world the chief.

The ancient and present Walls and Gates of the City.

HISTORIANS report, that about the year after Christ, 306, Constantine the Great, at the desire of his mother Helena, did first build a wall about this city, which may seem more probable, considering that the Britons did understand how to build walls with stone, as may appear by the following relation.

About the year of Christ 399, when the Empire of Rome was invaded, and that city destroyed by the Goths, the Romans called away all their forces from Britain for the defence of their own country; after which the Britons being not able to defend themselves, were for many years oppressed by two cruel nations, that is, the Scots and Picts, whereupon they sent ambassadors, with letters full of lamentable supplications and complaints to Rome, to desire their assistance, promising constant obedience to them. The Romans sent them a legion of soldiers, who fought with their enemies and drove them out of the country; and leaving the Britons at liberty they advised them to make a wall cross the country from one sea to the other, for their defence against their troublesome neighbours; and then the Romans returned home in triumph.

The Britons built this wall in the north of England, but wanting masons, they did not make it of stone as the Romans directed, but of turf, which was so weak, that it was little security to them. For their enemies perceiving the Romans were gone, they presently came in boats, and invaded their country, ruining and wasting all before them. Upon which, ambassadors were again sent with fresh lamentations to Rome, beseeching them not to suffer their miserable country to be wholly destroyed; the Romans then sent them another legion, who coming suddenly, surprised their enemies and made a great slaughter among them, chasing them back again even to their own country.

The Romans departing home again, told the Britons plainly, that the journey hither was long and troublesome, and therefore they must expect no further help from them; but must learn to use armour, and weapons themselves, thereby to be able to resist their enemies, who were encouraged to invade them because of their cowardice and faint-heartedness; however for the encouragement of their tributary friends, whom they were now forced to forsake the Romans made them

a wall of hard stone from the west sea to the east sea, and built two cities at each end thereof, the Britons labouring therein also. This wall was built eight feet thick, and twelve feet high, directly east and west, as appears by the ruins to be seen at this day. The work being finished; the Romans gave them a strict charge to look to themselves, and instruct their people in the use of arms, and military discipline, and least the enemy should come by sea southward, they made divers bulwarks at some distance from each other by the seaside; and then bid the Britons farewell, as intending to return no more; this happened in the reign of Theodosius the younger; near five hundred years after the first arrival of the Romans here, and about the year of our Lord 434.

The Britons after this had several skirmishes with the Picts and Scots, and made choice of Vortigern to be their King and leader, who is said to have been neither wise nor valiant, being wholly given up to lust and debauchery; and the people likewise having some rest from their enemies, ran into gluttony, drunkenness, pride, contention, envy, and all manner of vice, to the great scandal of their christian profession. At which time a dreadful pestilence fell upon them, which destroyed such a multitude of them, that the quick were not sufficient to bury the dead, and yet those that remained alive continued so impenitent that neither the death of their friends, nor fear of their enemies had any effect upon them, whereupon divine justice pursued them even almost to the destruction of the whole sinful nation.

For being now in danger of utter ruin from their old neighbours the Picts and Scots, they consulted with their King Vortigern what to do, and at last concluded to call in the Saxons, who soon after arrived in Briton; where (saith Bede) they were received as friends, for having driven out the Picts and Scots, they likewise drove out the Britons, forcing some of them to fly over the seas, and others into the barren and waste mountains of Wales and Cornwall.

The Saxons was likewise ignorant of building with stone till the year 680, for it is affirmed that Bennet Abbot of Werral, and master to reverend Bede, first brought in artificers for stone houses, and glass windows, unknown before to the Saxons, who built only with wood. And to this Polychronicon agrees; who speaking of those times, saith, then had ye wooden churches, nay wooden chalices, but golden priests; but now you have golden chalices, and wooden priests. And to conclude this argument, King Edgar in his charter to the Abbey of Malmsbury, dated the year of Christ 974, writes to this effect; all the monasteries in my realm to the outward sight are nothing

but worm-eaten and rotten timber, and boards, and which is worse, within they are almost empty, and void of divine worship.

Thus much as to walls in general, now to return to London; this city was destroyed and burnt by the Danes, and other Pagan enemies, about the year of our Lord 839, and was nobly rebuilt, and repaired the year 886 by Alfred King of the West Saxons, so that it lay waste, and uninhabited for almost fifty years; Alfred committed the custody of this new built city to his son-in-law Etheldred Earl of Mercia, to whom he had before married his daughter Ethelsted; and that this city was then strongly walled may appear by divers accidents; William of Malmesbury writes, that about the year 994 the Londoners shut up their gates and defended their King Etheldred within their walls against the Danes. In the year 1016, Canutus the Dane made war against Edmond Ironside, King of the West Saxons, and brought his navy to the west part of the bridge, casting a trench about the city of London, and attempted to have won it by assault, but the citizens repulsed him, and drove him from their walls. Likewise in the year 1052, Earl Godwin with his navy, sailed up by the south end of the bridge, and assailed the walls of the city.

William Fitz-Stephen, in the Reign of Henry II. writes thus: "The wall of London is high and great, well towered on the north side, with due distance between the towers. On the south side also the city was walled and towered, but the fish-full river of Thames by its ebbing and flowing hath long since subverted them." Where by the north side he means from the river in the east, to the river Thames in the west, for so the wall stretched in his time, and the city being far longer from east to west, than in breadth from south to north, and also narrower at both ends than in the midst, is therefore compassed with the wall on the landside in the form of a bow, except where it is indented in betwixt Cripplegate and Aldersgate. But the wall on the south side along the river of Thames was streight as the string of a bow, and fortified with towers or bulwarks (as we now term them) in due distance from each other, as our author says, and we ourselves may observe at this day, this demonstrates that the walls of this city are of great antiquity.

Now for repairing and maintaining this wall, we find, that in the year 1215 and the sixth of King John, the Barons entering the city by Aldgate, first took assurance of the city, and then broke into the Jews' houses, and seizing their money and goods for their own uses, they with great diligence repaired the walls, and gates of the city, with stones taken from the Jews' broken houses. In the year 1257, Henry

III. ordered the walls of the city, which were much decayed and without towers to be handsomely repaired, and beautified at the common charge of the city.

In the seventeenth of Edward IV. Ralph Joceline, mayor, caused part of the wall of the City of London to be repaired between Aldgate and Aldersgate; he also caused Moorfields to be searched for clay to make bricks for that purpose. The Skinners made that part of the wall between Aldgate and Buvies Marks (commonly called Bevis Marks) towards Bishopsgate, as may appear by their arms fixed in three places there. The Lord Mayor and his company of Drapers made all that part between Bishopsgate and Allhallow's Church in the wall; and from Allhallows toward the Postern, called Moorgate. A great part of the same wall was repaired by the executors of Sir John Crosby, alderman, his arms being in two places; and other companies repaired the rest of the wall to Cripplegate; the Goldsmiths repaired from Cripplegate to Aldersgate, and there the work ceased.

The circuit of the wall of London on the land's side, that is from the Tower of London in the east to Aldgate, is 82 perches; from Aldgate to Bishopsgate 86 perches; from Bishopsgate to Cripplegate 162 perches; from Cripplegate to Aldersgate 75 perches; from Aldersgate to Newgate 66 perches; from Newgate to Ludgate 42 perches; in all 513 perches of assize. From Ludgate to Fleet Ditch 60 perches; from Fleet Bridge to the River Thames about 70 perches; so that the total of these perches amounteth to 643; and every perch being five yards and a half, makes 3536 yards and a half, containing 10608 feet, which is two English miles, and 608 feet more.

In the former time there were but four gates in the wall of this city, that is Aldgate for the east; Aldersgate for the North; Ludgate for the west, and Bridgegate over London Bridge for the south, but of late days for the convenience of passengers, divers other gates and posterns have been made.

Fitz-Stephen saith, that in the reign of Henry II. there were seven double gates in the wall of this city, but names them not, we may therefore suppose them to be, 1. The gate next the Tower of London, called the Postern. 2. Aldgate. 3. Bishopsgate. 4. Aldersgate. 5. Newgate. 6. Ludgate. 7. Bridgegate. Since which there hath been built Moorgate, now a famous gate and several other smaller posterns, as one between Bishopsgate and Moorgate, and two between Moorgate and Cripplegate; besides others in other places.

As to the first called the Postern near the Tower (which was destroyed by the dreadful fire in 1666, of which you have a particular

account in this treatise, and never since rebuilt or like to be) by that which remained of it before, it seemed to have been a fair strong arched gate, stone. In the and the se- Richard I. Longshamp Ely, Chan- caused part wall, from the White be broken enlarging round made a wall which is outermost likewise broad deep out the wall tide from but the south gate was, by



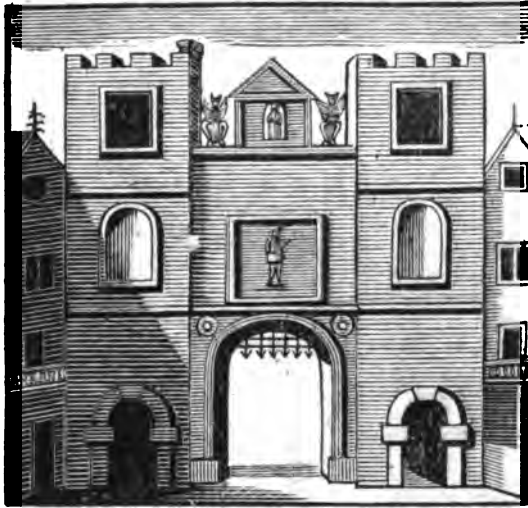
THE TOWER.

ing the foundation, much weakened, and about two hundred years after, that is 1440, the eighteenth year of Henry VI. it fell down, and was never since rebuilt.

The next in the east is Aldgate, or Oldgate, of the antiquity thereof, having been one of the four principal gates, and also one of the seven double gates aforementioned. It had two pair of gates and portcullises, though now but one, yet the hooks of the other gate, and the place of letting down the other portcullis are yet to be seen. This gate appeareth to be very antient, being named in the charter in King Edgar's time; and likewise in King Edward I. And in the civil wars between King John and his barons, 1215, the Londoners were on the barons part, who then besieged Northampton, and after came to Bedford Castle, where they were well received by William Beauchamp, captain thereof; and having then secret notice, that if they pleased they might enter the city, they removed their camp to Ware, and from thence coming to London in the night, they entered by Aldgate, and placing guards at the gate, they disposed of all things at their pleasure.

built of hard year 1190, cond year of William bishop of cellor, of the city that gate to Tower, for the Tower, which he embattled, now the wall; he made a ditch with- to let in the the Thames; side of this undermine-

They spoiled the Friar's houses, and searched their coffers: after which Robert Fitzwater, Jeffery Magnaville, the Earl of Essex, and the Earl of Gloucester, chief commander in the army, applied themselves to repair the walls of the city, with the stones taken from the houses as ruinous, and given them in exchange, they rather built in the manner of mans, with arches, and small Flanders



ALD GATE.

In the
Edward IV.
mas Bastard

bridge, having assembled a riotous company of seamen and others in Essex and Kent, came with a great navy of ships up to the Tower of London, whereupon the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, with consent of the Common Council, fortified the Thames sides with armed men, guns, and other warlike weapons, from Baynard's Castle to the Tower, to prevent their landing; but the rebels being denied passage that way, they fell upon Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Cripplegate, Aldersgate, London Bridge, and along Bankside, shooting arrows, and guns into the city, and burning above threescore houses in the suburbs.

Upon Sunday, May 11, 1471, five thousand of them assaulting Aldgate, won the Bulwarks, and entered the city, but the portcullis being let down, those that were in were slain; and Robert Basset, alderman of that ward, commanded them in the name of God to draw up the portcullis, which being done, the Londoners issued out of the gate, and courageously beat back their enemies to St. Botolph's church, by which time the Earl Rivers, and the lieutenant of the Tower, coming with fresh forces, joined them, and then they soon routed the rebels, and made them fly. Alderman Basset and other citizens chasing them to Milend, and from thence pursued some of them to Poplar, and

Gloucester,
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applied
to repair the
walls of the
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aforesaid;
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brick, and
tile.
eleventh of
1471, Tho-
Faucon-

others to Stratford, killing many, and taking divers prisoners. In the mean time, Fauconbridge their commander, having in vain assaulted other places on the water-side, fled to his ships. Thus much of Aldgate as it was of old, we shall speak of the rebuilding when we come to Aldgate ward.

The third the north, is gate, supposed to be some bishop though now but the occasion there ease of passage especially to Suffolk, shire, &c. were forced about; yet what antient that in year land was procurators of London tuate in the Botolph, Bishops-



BISHOPSGATE.

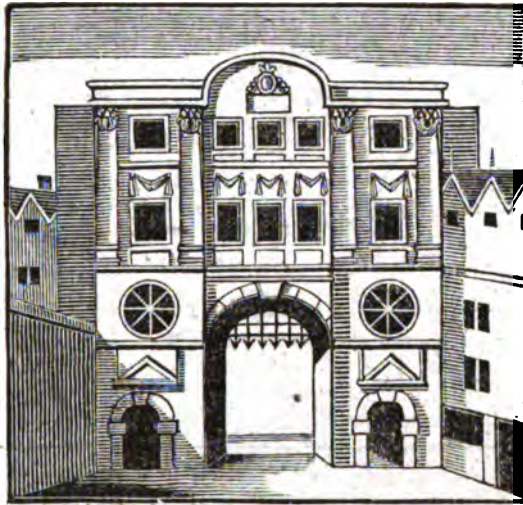
And in a charter dated 1235, it is written, that Walter Brume, and Rosia his wife, having founded the priory, or new hospital of our blessed lady, (since called St. Mary Spittle) without Bishopsgate, having confirmed the same to the honour of God, and our blessed lady for canons regular. Also in 1247, Simeon Fitz-Mary, Sheriff of London, the twenty-ninth year of Henry III. founded the hospital of St. Mary called Bethlem, without Bishopsgate.

And for repairing this gate, Henry III. confirmed certain liberties to the merchants of the Haunce, to keep it in repair, which they did for many years; but in the year 1551, having prepared stone, and a new gate to be set up, at the complaint of the English merchants, their charter was taken from them, so that the old gate remained.

Next to this upon the north side of the city, is Moorgate, of which we read, that in the third year of Henry V. 1415, Thomas Faulconer, Mayor, caused the wall of the city to be broken through near Coleman-

gate toward Bishops- posed to be some bishop though now but the occasion there ease of passage especially to Suffolk, shire, &c. were forced about; yet what antient that in year land was procurators of London tuate in the Botolph, Bishops- gate. And

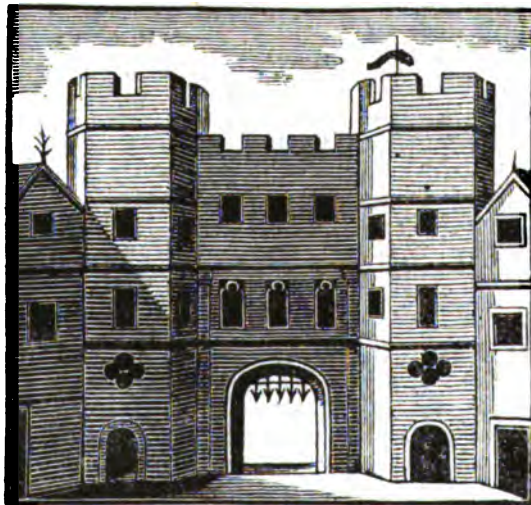
street, and a postern, Moorgate, ground which is and made and turned fields and walks, with curious accommo- citizens. since the fire of Lon- has been new made very a great arch posterns, so equals, if any other city.



MOORGATE.

this gate and Cripplegate there have been lately made two posterns through the wall, for the better ease of passengers, and several new houses built near them.

Cripple- which is of quity, being before the for we read the Danes kingdom of Alwyn, Helinham, body of mund the brought disworth St. Ed- Bury,) kingdom of Saxons, and don, in at Some say named from begging



CRIPPLEGATE.

there built now called of a moory hard by, now drained fair and firm into several delightful trees set in order for the dation of the

This gate dreadful don in 1666, built, and is noble, with and two that it now not excels, gate of the

Between gate is next, great anti- so called conquest; that in 1010, spoiling the East Angles, bishop of caused the King Ed- martyr to be from Bre- (now called mund's through the the East so to Lon- Cripplegate it was so cripples there, and

that when the body of St. Edmund passed through it, many miracles were wrought thereby, as that some of the lame were cured, praising God, &c. This body continued three years in St. Gregory's church, near St. Paul's. And further, William the Conqueror in his charter for confirming the foundation of the college in London, called St. Martin's le Grand, said thus, "I do give and grant to the same church and canons serving God therein, all the lands, and the moor without the postern, which is called Cripplegate, on either part of the postern." We read likewise, that Alfune built the parish church of St. Giles, near a gate of the city, called Porta Contractorum, or Cripplegate, about the year 1090.

This gate was formerly a prison for citizens for debt or otherwise, like one of the counters; it was new built in 1244, by the brewers of London; and Edmund Shaw, Goldsmith, in 1483, gave by his will 400 marks, and the stuff of the old gate called Cripplegate, to build the same again, which was accordingly done in 1491.

Alders-
Ældersgate
so called
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antient men
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tifully there
places, as
fancied; but
the antiqui-
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serving for
as Aldgate
eastern parts
both old
distinction,
Aldersgate,
other Ald-
gate hath



ALDERSGATE.

additional buildings to it, as on the southside, where several large rooms and lodgings of timber have been made; and on the east side a great timber building, with one large room paved with stone or tile; there is likewise a well curbed with stone, and of a great depth, which rises into that room, though two stories high from the ground, which is very remarkable; John Day, a famous printer, dwelt in this gate, and built many houses upon the city wall, toward St. Ann's Church. You may read more of the new building this gate in Aldersgate ward.

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In the sixth year of Edward VI. there was a postern gate made through the city wall on the north side of the late dissolved cloister of Friar's Minors, commonly called Gray Friar's, now Christ Church and Hospital; this was done to make a passage from Christ Church Hospital, to St. Bartholomew's Hospital in Smithfield, and license was given to Sir Richard Dobbs, Lord Mayor, to do it, by virtue of an act of common council, August 1, in the sixth year of Edward VI.

The next the north called New-gate, though the fifth-gate, though the erected reign of King Ste this occa-Cathedral being burnt reign of Conqueror, ritius then London, pair the old some have laid the of a new one, was judged



NEWGATE.

hardly ever have been finished, it was so wonderful for length, breadth, and height; and likewise because it was raised upon vaults or arches, after the Norman fashion, and never known in England before.

After Mauritius, Richard Beunmore, did very much advance the building of this church, purchasing the large streets and lanes round about, which ground he encompassed with a strong stone wall and gates. By reason of this inclosure for so large a church yard, the High street from Aldgate in the east, to Ludgate in the west, was made so straight and narrow, that the carriage through the city was by Pater-noster Row, down Ave-Mary-Lane, and so through Bouger Row, (now called Ludgate-street) to Ludgate; or else by Cheapside, through Watling-street, and so through Carter-Lane, and up Creed-Lane to Ludgate, which passage, by reason of the often turning was very incon-

gate is on west and is gate, and is principal built later rest, being about the Henry I, or phen, upon sion. The of St. Paul's down in the William the 1086. Mau-Bishop of did not re-church as thought, but foundation which it would

venient. Whereupon a new gate was made to pass through Cheapside (north of St. Paul's) St. Nicholas Shambles, and Newgate-street to Newgate, and from thence westward to Holborn Bridge; or turning without the gate to Smithfield, and Islington (or Iseldon) or to any place north, or west. This gate hath for many years been a prison for felons, murderers, highwaymen, and other trespassers, as appeareth by the records of King John and others, and among the rest in the third year of Henry III. 1218, that King wrote to the sheriffs of London, commanding them to repair the goal of Newgate, for the safe keeping of his prisoners, promising that the charges thereof should be allowed them upon their account in the Exchequer.

In the year 1241, the Jews of Norwich were hanged, being accused of circumcising a christian child; their house (called the Thor) was pulled down and destroyed; Aaron, the son of Abraham, a Jew, and other Jews in London, were constrained to pay twenty thousand marks, at two terms in the year, or else to be kept perpetual prisoners in Newgate, at London, and in other prisons.

In 1255, King Henry III. lodged in the Tower, and upon some displeasure against the City of London, for the escape of John Offrem, a clerk convict, prisoner in Newgate, for killing a Prior who was cousin to the Queen; he sent for the Lord Mayor, who laid the fault on the sheriffs, to whose custody the prisoners are committed; the mayor was discharged, but the sheriffs were imprisoned above a month, though they alledged the fault was in the bishop's officers, who though he was imprisoned in Newgate, yet they were to see that he was kept safe. But however, the King required three thousand marks of the city for a fine.

In the third year of Edward III. 1326, Robert Baldock, the King's chancellor, was put into Newgate. In 1237, Sir John Poultney gave four marks a year for relief of the prisoners in Newgate. In 1358, William Walworth gave likewise toward their relief, and so have many others since. In 1414, the jailors in Ludgate and Newgate died, and 64 prisoners. In 1418, the parson of Wertham, in Kent, was imprisoned in Newgate. In the first year of Henry VI. 1412, the executors of Richard Whittington, repaired Newgate; and Thomas Knowles, Grocer, sometime Lord Mayor, brought the waste water from the cistern near St. Nicholas Chapel, by St. Bartholomew's Hospital, to Newgate and Ludgate for the accommodation of the prisoners. In 1431, all the prisoners in Ludgate were conveyed to Newgate, by the Sheriffs of London; and soon after they fetched from thence eighteen persons, freemen of the city, who were led pinioned to the counters like

felons, by the false suggestion of the jailor of Newgate; but Ludgate was awhile after again appointed for freemen who were debtors; and they were all carried back again thither.

In 1427, there was a great skirmish in the north country, between Sir Thomas Percie, Lord Egremont, and the Earl of Salisbury's sons, whereby many were wounded and slain, but the Lord Egremont being taken, was found to give the occasion, and was thereupon condemned by the King's council, to pay a considerable sum of money to the Earl of Salisbury, and in the mean time was committed to Newgate; and awhile after, both he, and his brother Sir Thomas Percie, broke out by night, and went to the king. The other prisoners got upon the leads over the gate, and defended it against the sheriffs, and all their officers a great while, till they were forced to call more citizens to their aid, who at last subdued them, and laid them in irons: Thus much of Newgate.

Ludgate in the west, sixth prin- of this city; rians say, king Lud, six years Saviour's which shews tiquity: this for the west for the east. aforemen- being the year of King the barons, arms against entered this pulled down houses, re- walls and



LUDGATE.

city with the stones thereof; it appeareth that they then repaired or rather new built this gate; for in 1586 when this gate was pulled down in order to its being repaired, there was a stone found within the wall which seems to have been taken from one of the Jews' houses, there being several Hebrew characters engraven thereon, which being inter-

is the next and the cipal gate and histo- was built by near sixty- before our nativity; its great an- being built as Aldgate In 1215, tioned, seventeenth John, when who were in the King, city, and the Jews' pairing the gates of the

preted, are thus in English: " This is the station or ward of Rabbi Moses, the son of the Honorable Rabbi Isaac." This it is thought had been fixed upon one of the Jew's houses, as a sign he lived there.

In 1260, Ludgate was repaired and beautified with the images of Lud and other kings, but in the reign of Edward VIth. these images of the kings had their heads smitten off, and were defaced, by such as judged every image to be an idol. In the reign of Queen Mary they were repaired and new heads set upon their old bodies, which remained so, till the twenty-eighth of Queen Elizabeth, 1586, when this gate was quite taken down and nobly rebuilt, with the images of King Lud and others on the east-side, and Queen Elizabeth on the west, which was done at the city charge, being above £1500.

In 1463, Stephen Foster, Fishmonger, and Dame Agnes his wife, added several large rooms to Ludgate, and gave other relief to the prisoners, who are only such citizens as are debtors; all persons for treasons, felonies, and other criminal offences being committed to Newgate. In one of these rooms, there was a copper plate hanging with the following rhimes engraven thereon.

Devout souls that pass this way,
For Stephen Forster, late Mayor, heartily pray;
And Dame Agnes, his spouse, to God consecrate,
That of pity this House made of London in Ludgate:
So that for lodging and water, prisoners here nought pay,
As their keepers shall all answer at dreadful doomsday.

This gate (as well as Newgate) in the late dismal fire in 1666, was burnt down, but they have been since repaired, and very curiously beautified, having a new postern for foot passengers added thereto; with several other conveniences. Thus much for Ludgate.

Next to this before the late fire, there was only a breach in the wall of the city, and a bridge of timber over Fleet Ditch, directly against Bridewell Hospital, but since it is all laid open, and a handsome bridge of stone built in that place, the Ditch being very much enlarged, and a wharf made of stone, and cleared from all houses on each side up to Holborn Bridge. The bridge likewise at the lower end of Ludgate Hill being nobly rebuilt, or rather new built and made much broader, and another gallant bridge is built upon the same ditch almost over against the Fleet Prison. All this has been done since the dismal fire, to the very great charge of the city. And so much for the gates in the wall.

Now for the watergates on the banks of the River Thames, which formerly have been many, though most, or all of them have been ruined by the late fire, however take a brief account of what they were. Blackfriar's stairs is a free landing place, now gallantly rebuilt with a useful bridge by Sir Thomas Fitch, who has built a very curious house upon the wharf, and cleared it, so that now the Lord Mayor, when he comes from Westminster to be sworn, lands there instead of Paul's Wharf, as being much more convenient. Then there is Puddle Wharf, Paul's Wharf, Broken Wharf, besides divers others all along the river, which are made by the citizens for their private use. Next is Ripa Regina, the Queen's Bank, or Queen Hyth, which was accounted the chief and principal water-gate of this city, far exceeding Belin's-Gate, as it appears in Queen Hithe ward.

Next hereunto is Downgate or Dowgate, so called of the sudden descending or going down of the way, from St. John Baptist's Church upon Walbrook, into the River Thames, whereby the water in the channel runs so strong, that in 1574, after a great shower of rain, a young man about 18 years of age, intending to leap over the stream, tripped up his heels, and he was carried with such great swiftness, that no man could stop him till he came against a cart wheel in the watergate, by which time he was quite dead; this was sometimes a large watergate, frequented by ships and vessels of burthen like Queen Hyth, but now it is utterly decayed.

The next was called Wolfe's Gate in the Ropery, afterward called Wolfe's Lane, but now out of use. The next was called Ebgate of old time, as appeareth by antient records, and stood near St. Lawrence Pountney's Church, it is now a narrow lane, and called Ebgate-lane, but usually the Old Swan. There was another gate at the bridgefoot called Oyster Gate, of oysters that were there sold, that being the market-place for them, and other small fish; but now there standeth an engine to carry up the water into the city, in the place thereof.

Then there is the Bridge-gate, so called of London Bridge, whereon it standeth. This long before the conquest was one of the four first, or principal gates of the city, where there was only a bridge of timber, and is the seventh and last principal gate mentioned by Fitz-Stephen; when the bridge was new built of stone, this gate was rebuilt again; in the year 1436, this gate with the tower upon it, fell down, and two of the furthest arches of the bridge, southward, fell therewith, yet none were killed, or hurt thereby; to the repairing whereof several citizens gave very liberally. When the bastard Fauconbridge, aforementioned, came with the Kentish mariners into this city,

they burnt this gate, and thirteen houses besides on the bridge, and likewise the brew-houses at St. Catherines, and many others in the suburbs.

Next hereunto was a gate, commonly called Buttolph's Gate, of the parish church adjoining. This was given or confirmed by William the Conqueror to the monks at Westminster. Then there is Belin's-gate, which is much used by small ships and barges, so that Queen Hyth is almost forsaken. It is somewhat uncertain why this gate was so named, only Jeffrey of Monmouth writes, "that Belin, a king of the Britons, about 400 years before Christ's nativity, built this gate, and called it after his own name, and that when he was dead, his body was burned and the ashes were put in a vessel of brass, and set over that gate upon an high pinicle of stone;" yet it doth not appear to be so ancient, but rather to have taken the name from some late owner, called (it may be) Beling or Billing, as Somer's Key, Smart's Key, Fresh Wharf, and others have done. Then there was a water gate on the south end of Water Lane by the Custom House Key, but of all these more hereafter. One other watergate there was more by the bulwark of the Tower, and this is the last, the farthest gate eastward on the river Thames, as far as the city of London extends within the walls.

Besides these common water gates, there were formerly divers private wharfs, and keys all along from the east to the west of this city, on the Thames side, where merchants of all nations landed their goods, and had warehouses, cellars, and stowage for them. And in the forty-second year of Henry III. 1258, it was appointed that the ports of England should be strongly guarded, and the gates of London should be newly repaired, and diligently kept in the night for fear of French deceits.

Of the Tower of London, and other ancient towers and castles of this city, with several remarkable accidents happening therein.

THE City of London (saith Fitz Stephen) hath in the east a very great, and most strong Palatine Tower, whose turret and walls do rise from a deep foundation, the mortar thereof being tempered with the boold of beasts.

It is the common opinion that Julius Cæsar the first conqueror, or indeed discoverer of Briton, was the original founder thereof and of many other towers, castles, and great houses. But there is little reason for it, in regard of his short stay here, having other things to think on, designing only to dispatch his conquest over this barbarous country, and then to perform greater enterprises; neither do the Roman historians mention any such buildings erected by him here.

The more probable opinion thereof is, that William the Conqueror built the great white and square Tower thereabout the year of our Lord 1078, as appears by ancient records, and that made Gundulph Bishop of Rochester principal surveyor of the work. The wall of the City of London (as it is aforementioned) was furnished formerly with towers and bulwarks in due distance from each other; and the River of Thames with its ebbing and flowing had overthrown the walls and towers on the banks thereof, whereupon William the Conqueror for the defence of the city which lay open to the enemy, having taken down the second bulwark in the east part of the wall toward the Thames, built the great White Tower, which has been since enlarged at several times with buildings adjoining thereto; this Tower in the fourth of William Rufus, 1092, was much shaken and defaced by a great tempest of wind, but was again repaired by William Rufus, and Henry I. who likewise built a castle on the south side thereof toward the Thames, intrenching the same round about. Historians say of this William Rufus, that he challenged the investiture of prelates, he pillaged, and shared the people with tribute, especially to spend about the Tower of London, and the Great Hall at Westminster.

The four first constables or keepers of the Tower were Othowerus, Acolinillus, Otto, and Jeffry Magnaville Earl of Essex, who was also Sheriff of London, Middlesex, Essex and Hertfordshire; he fortified the Tower of London against King Stephen, but the King seizing him at his court at St. Albans would not discharge him, till he had delivered it up, together with the Castles of Walden, and Plastow, in Essex. In 1153, the Tower of London, and Castle of Windsor were delivered by the King to Richard de Lucie, to be safely kept. In 1155, Thomas Becket, Chancellor to Henry II. caused the Flemings to be banished out of England, their castles lately built to be demolished, and the Tower of London to be repaired.

In the second year of Richard I. 1190, William Longshamp Bishop of Ely, Lord Chancellor, (by reason of some difference between him, and Earl John the King's Brother, who was in rebellion) inclosed the Tower and Castle of London with an outward wall of

stone embatailed; and likewise caused a deep ditch to be made about the same, designing (as it is aforementioned) to have invironed it with the River of Thames. This inclosure and ditch took away some ground from Trinity church in London, which King Edward recompenced. And a great quantity of ground likewise was taken from the city upon this account, yet the citizens had no recompence, nor were they offended thereat, since it was done with their liking, as being for the defence of the city.

But another historian saith, that in 1239, Henry III. fortified the Tower of London to another purpose, and the citizens fearing it was intended to their detriment, complained to the King; who answered, that he had not done it to their hurt, but (saith he) I will do from henceforth as my brother doth, (in building and fortifying castles) who beareth the name of being wiser than I. But the next year, all these noble buildings of the Stone gate and bulwark, were shaken as with an earthquake, and fell down, which the King commanded to be again built better than before. And in the year 1241, though the King had bestowed twelve thousand marks in the work, yet the wall and bulwarks irrecoverably fell down; at which the citizens were very well pleased; for they were threatened, that when this wall and bulwarks were built, if any of them should contend for the liberties of the city they should be imprisoned therein.

Yet were they again rebuilt and finished by Edward I. and the bulwark at the west-gate, now called the Lyon Tower, added; the original of which name, and of lyons in England, we read was thus. Henry I. built the manor of Woodstock, and walled the park about with stone, seven miles in compass, destroying to that purpose divers villages, churches and chapels, and this was the first park in England, and as the record saith; he appointed therein (besides great store of deer) divers strange beasts to be kept and nourished, such as were brought to him from far countries, as lyons, leopards, linxes, porcupines, and such other, for such was his estimation among outlandish princes, that few would willingly offend him.

In the year 1235 we read, that Frederick the Emperor, sent Henry III. three leopards in token of his regal shield of arms, wherein they were pictured; since which time, the lyons, and other creatures have been kept in a part of this bulwark now called the Lyon's Tower. In the sixteenth year of Edward III. one lyon, one lyoness, one leopard and two cat-lyons were committed to the custody of Robert Bourc. Edward IV. fortified the Tower of London, and inclosed a piece of ground (west from the Lyon Tower)

upon Tower-hill with brick, now called the bulwark. And in the sixth year of his reign, he ordered a scaffold and gallows to be set upon the hill for the execution of offenders, upon which the Lord Mayor and Aldermen complaining to the King, but were answered, that it was not done in derogation of the city's liberties, and caused proclamation to be made thereof accordingly.

Richard III. and Henry VIII. repaired this Tower; but in the second year of Edward VI. 1548, November 22d. a Frenchman lodging in the round bulwark, between the Westgate, and the postern, by setting fire to a barrel of gunpowder in the night, blew up that bulwark, yet burnt none but himself; this bulwark was soon rebuilt again. This west gate of the Tower is the principal gate, for receiving, and delivering all manner of carriages, and without it, there are divers bulwarks and gates turning to the north, within this gate to the south is a strong postern for passengers, by the ward-house, over a draw-bridge, which is let down, and pulled up at pleasure.

Next to this on the south side east-ward, is a large water-gate (commonly called Traitors Gate, because some have been carried in that way) this gate is partly under a strong stone bridge from the river of Thames. Beyond which was a small postern with a drawbridge seldom let down but for receiving in some great persons prisoners; further to the east was a great and strong gate called the Iron Gate, but not usually opened. And so much for the foundation, building and repairing of the Tower, with the gates and posterns. There are many fair houses within the walls of the Tower, wherein the officers belonging thereto, and other inhabitants live, there is also a chapel.

In the year 1196, William Fitz Ozbet, a citizen, seditiously moving the people to stand for their liberties, and not to be subject to the rich and mighty, was taken, and brought before the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Tower, where he was condemned by the judges, and being drawn thence by the heels to the Elms in East-Smithfield, he was there hanged. In 1214, King John wrote to Jeffery Magnaville to deliver the Tower of London with the prisoners, armour, and all other things found therein belonging to the King, to William Archdeacon of Huntingdon. In the first year of Henry III. 1216, the Tower was delivered to Lewis of France, and the barons of England. In 1206, pleas of the crown were pleaded in the Tower, and divers times afterward. In 1222, the citizens having made a tumult against the Abbot of Westminster, Hubbert of Burg, Chief Justice of England, sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to the Tower of London, to

enquire who were principal authors thereof. Amongst whom, one named Constantine Fitz Aelnfe boldly avowed, that he was the man, and had done much less than he thought to have done; whereupon the Chief Justice sent him, with two others to Falks de Brent, who with armed men brought them to the gallows, and hanged them.

In 1244, Griffith Prince of Wales, being a prisoner in the Tower, attempted an escape, and having in the night tied the sheets and hangings together he endeavoured thereby to slide from the top of the high Tower, but being a fat man the weight of his body broke the rope, and he fell; the next morning he was found dead, his head and neck being driven into his breast between his shoulders. In 1253, King Henry III. imprisoned the Sheriffs of London in the Tower above a month, about the escape of a prisoner out of Newgate, as is aforementioned. In 1260, this King with his Queen (for fear of the barons) lodged in the Tower; and the next year he sent for his Lords, and held his parliament there.

In 1263, as the Queen was going by water from the Tower toward Windsor, several citizens got together upon London Bridge, under which she was to pass, who not only used reproachful words against her, but threw stones and dirt at her, forcing her to go back again, but in 1265 they were forced to submit themselves to the King for it, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs were sent to several prisons; Othon, constable of the Tower, being made Custos, or keeper of the city.

About this time, Leoline Prince of Wales came down from the mountain of Snowdon to Montgomery, and was taken at Bluith castle, where using reproachful words against the English, Roger le Strange fell upon him, and with his own sword cut off his head, leaving his dead body on the ground; Sir Roger Mortimer caused his head to be set upon the Tower of London, crowned with a wreath of ivy; and this was the end of Leoline, who was betrayed by the men of Bluith, and was the last Prince of the British blood who ruled in Wales.

In 1290, several judges as well of the King's bench as the assize, were sent prisoners to the Tower, and with great sums of money obtained their liberty; Sir Thomas Weyland had all his estates confiscated, and himself banished; Sir Ralph Hengham Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench paid seven thousand marks; Sir John Lovet Chief Justice of the Lower Bench, three thousand marks; Sir William Brompton six thousand marks; yea their clerks were fined also, as being confederate with their masters in bribery and injustice; Robert Littlebury, clerk, paid one thousand marks, and Roger Leicester as

much. But a certain clerk of the courts, called Adam de Straton paid thirty-two thousand marks of old and new money, besides jewels without number, and precious vessels of silver, which were found in his house, together with a king's crown, which some said was King John's. After this the King constrained the judges to swear that for the future they should take no pension, fee, or gift of any man, except a breakfast, or some such small kindness.

In the fourteenth year of Edward II. the King allowed to the prisoners in the Tower, two pence a day to a knight, and a penny a day to an esquire for their diet. In 1320, the King's justices sate in the Tower, for trial of divers matters, at which time John Gisors, late Lord Mayor of London, and several others fled to the city, for fear of being charged with things they had presumptuously done. The next year the Mortimers yielding themselves to King Edward II. he sent them prisoners to the Tower, where they were condemned to be drawn, and hanged. But Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, by giving his keepers sleepy drink, made his escape, but his uncle Mortimer died there, above five years afterward.

In 1326, the citizens of London took possession of the Tower, and taking away the keys from the constable, they discharged all the prisoners, and kept both the city and tower for the use of Queen Isabel and her son Edward (who was afterward Edward the III.)

In 1330, Roger Mortimer Earl of March, was taken, and committed to the Tower, from whence he was drawn to the Elms, and there hanged on the common gallows, where he hung two days and nights by the King's command, and was then buried in the Grey Friar's church; this Earl was condemned by his peers, and yet was never brought to make his defence before them. He himself having procured a law to that purpose, by which the Earls of Lancaster, Winchester, Gloucester, and Kent were put to death, and now he himself suffered by the same law.

In the third year of Edward III. 1344, the King commanded Florences of gold to be coined in the Tower; Perceval de Port, of Lake, being then master of the Mint, and this is the first coining we read of there; we read likewise that the same year the King appointed his exchange of money to be kept in Seres Tower, being part of the King's house in Buckles (or Bucklers) Bury. And we find that in former times all great sums were paid by weight, that is, so many pounds or marks of gold or silver cut into blank pieces without any stamp upon them, and smaller sums were paid in Starlings which were pence so called, for they had no other monies; this Starling, or Easterling money, took

its name, as it is judged, from the Easterlings which first made it in Engerland in the reign of Henry II. though others imagine it so called from a star stamped in the ring or edge of the penny; or of a bird called a starling stamped on it; others yet more unlikely, of being coined at Striveling or Sterling, a town in Scotland, but the first opinion seems the most probable.

In 1360, a peace being concluded between England and France, Edward III. came back into England, and went to the Tower to visit the French King, who was prisoner there, setting his ransom at three millions of Florences, which being paid, he was discharged from his imprisonment and the King conducted him with honor to the sea-side.

In the fourth year of Richard II. 1381, a grievous tax was laid upon the subjects, which caused much trouble. For the courtiers, greedy to enrich themselves, informed the King that the tax was not so carefully gathered as it ought; and therefore they would pay a great sum of money to farm it, which they would raise above what it was before, by being more severe in gathering it. This proposition was soon accepted, so that having the King's authority, and letters, these farmers or commissioners, met in several places in Kent and Essex, where they levied this tax of groats, or pole-money, with all manner of severity, which so discontented the people, that they combined together, and resisted the collectors, killing some, wounding others, and making the rest fly.

The tumult began first in Kent, upon this occasion, (as it is related in the chronicles of St. Albans) one of these exactors coming to the house of John (others say) Wat Tyler, living at Dartford in Kent, demanded of Tyler's wife, a groat a piece for her husband, herself, and servants, and likewise for a young maiden her daughter; the woman paid for all but her daughter, alledging she was a child, and under age to pay; that will I soon know, (quoth the collector) and shamefully turned the young maids coats up, to see whether she was come to ripeness of age; (these villians having in divers others places made the like base, and uncivil trials.) Hereupon the mother crying out, divers of the neighbours came in, and her husband being at work in the town, tiling a house, hearing of it, taking his lathing staff in his hand, ran home, and finding the collector, asked him, who made him so bold? the collector returned ill language and struck at Tyler, who avoiding the blow, gave the collector such a home-blow with his lathing-staff, that his brains flew out of his head; which made a great uproar in the streets, and the people being glad at what had happened, they prepared to defend and stand by Tyler.

And thereupon a great number of them being got together, they went from thence to Maidstone, and then to Black-Heath, persuading, and exhorting all the people as they marched along to join with them in this common cause, and setting guards upon all the ways to Canterbury, they stopped all passengers, compelling them to swear; that they would keep allegiance to King Richard, and to the Commons; that they would accept of no King whose name was John, (because of the hatred they had to John Duke of Lancaster, who called himself King of Castile.) And that they should be ready when they were called, and should agree to no tax to be levied from thenceforth in the kingdom, nor consent to any, except it were a fifteenth.

There joined with them one John Ball a factious clergyman, who took occasion to rip up the grounds of the mis-government, telling the people, that this difference of men's estates, where some were potentates and others bondmen, was against christian liberty, taking for his text this old rhyme,

When Adam delv'd and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman?

This so incensed the commons that their number daily increased, so that when they were come as far as Black-Heath, they were esteemed to be an hundred thousand, so that fearing no resistance, they began to commit all manner of violence, sparing none whom they thought to be learned especially if they found a pen or inkhorn about him, for then they pulled off his hood, and then with one voice cried out, hale him out: and cut off his head. The King sent some knights to them to know the cause of their assembling, to whom they answered, that for certain causes they were come together, and desired to talk with the King, and therefore willed the knights to tell him, that he must needs come to them, that he might understand the desire of their hearts. The King was advised by some to go presently to them, but Simon Sudbury Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, and Robert Hales of St. Johns, treasurer, affirmed, that it was not fit for the King to go to such a rude company, but rather to take order to suppress them.

This the commons hearing, were so enraged, that they swore, they would go seek the King's traitors, and cut off their heads; and thereupon they marched into Southwark, and ruined the Archbishop's palace at Lambeth, out of spite to him. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen fearing they would do the like to the city, ordered the gates to be

shut, but the commoners of the city, especially the poorer sort, favouring the commoners of the country, threatened death to all that should attempt it; so that the rebels had free egress, and regress in and out of London, and daily encouraged the citizens to favour their cause, declaring, their purpose was only to bring the traitors of the land to justice, and then they would lay down their arms; and hereby they won them to stand by them.

The first thing they did when they came to London was to send for one Richard Lyon a grave citizen, who had been Tyler's master, and having struck off his head, they carried it upon a pole in triumph before them. The next day they came to the Savoy, the Duke of Lancaster's house, which they set on fire, burning all his rich furniture breaking in pieces all his plate and jewels, and throwing them in the Thames, saying, they were men of justice, and would not like robbers enrich themselves with any man's goods, for they only were for destroying traitors; and when one of their fellows was espied to thrust a fair piece of silver into his bosom, they took him, and cast both him and it into the fire; neither took they any thing from any man but at the just price. Two and thirty of them were got into the Duke's wine-cellar, where they stayed drinking so long, till the rafters of the house, which was on fire, fell upon them, and so covered them, that not able to get out, they were heard cry seven days after, and then perished.

From the Savoy they went to the Temple where they burnt the lawyers' chambers, with their books, and writings, and all they could lay hands on. Also the noble house of St. John's, by Smithfield, they set on fire, which burnt for seven days together, not suffering any to quench it, and likewise the manor of Highbury, and other places belonging to St. John's. After this they came to the Tower, where King Richard lodged, and sent to command him to come to them, without delay, unarmed, and without any guard, which if he refused they would pull down the Tower, and he should not escape alive. The King finding no other remedy though he had six hundred armed men, and as many archers about him, yet durst not but to suffer them to enter, so that in great fear the King went toward them on horseback, his own guards standing as men amazed. Being come in the Tower, these rusticks presumed to enter into the King and his mother's chambers with their weapons, and laid themselves on the King's bed, sporting and playing thereon, yea they abused the King's mother, offering to kiss her in such a rude manner that she fell into a swoon.

They then proceeded with rage and fury to search for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and finding one of his servants, charged him to bring them to the traitor his master; the servant being afraid, brought them to the chapel where his master was at prayers, who being aware their coming, had continued there all night; and when he heard they were come, he said with great constancy to his servants, let us now go, of surely it is best to die, when it is no pleasure to live; upon which the rabble cried, where is the traitor? who answered, I am the Archbishop whom ye seek, not a traitor. Whereupon they dragged him out of the chapel to Tower-hill, where being encompassed with many thousands, and seeing many drawn swords about his head, he said,

What is it (dear brethren) you purpose to do? what is mine offence committed against you, for which you will kill me? you were best take heed, that if I be killed, who am your pastor, there come not on you the indignation of the just revenger, or at least for such a fact all England be not put under interdiction, or the Pope's curse. But they cried out with a great noise, that they did not fear the interdiction, neither did allow the Pope to be above them. The Archbishop seeing death at hand, spoke then fairly, and granting forgiveness to the executioner, he kneeled down and offered his head to be cut off; the hangman struck him on the neck but not deadly, he putting up his hand, said, ah! it is the hand of God; and being struck again before he removed his hand, his fingers ends were cut off, and part of the arteries, with which he fell down, but died not, till they had mangled him with eight several strokes in the neck and head. His body lay two days unburied, none daring to do it; his head they cut off, and nailing his hood thereon, fixed it upon a pole on London Bridge. This Simon Sudbury was eighteen years Bishop of London, and being translated to Canterbury, he in 1375 repaired the walls of London from the West-gate, (which he built) to the North-gate, which had been destroyed by the Danes, before the conquest of William the bastard. He was at last buried in the cathedral at Canterbury.

Sir Robert Hales lord treasurer of England, suffered with him at the same time, a most valiant Knight, and Lord of St. John's; together with John Leg, one of the serjeants at arms, and William Apledore a Franciscan friar who was the King's confessor; many more were beheaded daily, for no cause but the pleasure of the commons, for it was pastime to them, to take any who were not sworn of their party and pulling off their hoods, behead them; they took thirteen Flemings out of the Augustine Friars, seventeen out of another church, and thirty-two in the Vintry, and beheaded them all; and to make a

distinction of Flemings, they put them to pronounce, bread and cheese; and if they spake it like brot and cawse, off went their heads, as a sure sign that they were Flemings.

The King coming according as he was required, to Mile-end, was much astonished at the madness of the people, who with frowning countenances made the following demands which they presented in writing, and would have them confirmed by the King's Letters Patent.

1. That all men should be free from servitude or bondage, so that from thenceforth there should be bondmen.
2. That he should pardon all men of what estate soever all manner of actions, and insurrections committed, and all treasons, felonies, transgressions, and extortions by any of them done, and to grant them peace.
3. That all men henceforth might be enfranchised, or made free, to buy and sell in every county, city, borough, town, fair, market and other places within the realm of England.
4. That no acres of land holden in bondage or service, should be held but for four-pence, and if it had been held for less in former time, it should not now be enhanced.

These and many other things they required, telling the King, that he had been ill governed to that day, but for the time forward, he must be otherwise governed. The King finding himself in danger, yeilded thereto, and so desiring a truce, the Essex men returned home. Next day the King went to Westminster, to visit St. Edward's shrine; and coming back by West-smithfield, he found the place full of Kentish men, to whom he sent word, that their fellows the Essex men were gone home; and that if they desired it he would grant them the same conditions of peace; but their chief captain named John, or others say, Walter Hilliard alias, Tyler, being a cunning fellow; answered, he desired peace, but upon his own conditions; intending by fair words to have delayed the business till the next day; for he designed that night to have killed the King and the nobility about him, and then to have plundered the city, and burnt it.

But he was wonderfully disappointed in his pride, having refused conditions of peace which were sent him in three several charters three times. Upon which the King at last sent Sir John Newton, not to command, but to intreat him to come and discourse with him concerning what he demanded; among which one particular was, that Wat Tyler desired a commission to behead all lawyers, escheators, and others whatsoever that were learned in the law, conceiving that afterward all would be managed according to the humour of the common people;

and it is reported that the day before, putting his hand to his lips he said, that before four days came to an end, all the laws of England should proceed from his mouth.

When Sir John Newton desired Tyler to dispatch him, he scornfully answered; if thou art so hasty thou mayst go to thy master, for I will come when I please. However Sir John Newton followed him slowly on horse-back, and by the way a doublet-maker brought three score doublets to the Commons, and demanded thirty marks for them, but could have no money; upon which, Wat Tyler told him, friend be quiet, thou shalt be well paid before this day be ended, keep nigh me and I will be thy creditor.

Wat Tyler then set spurs to his horse and rid up toward the King, coming so near that his horse touched the crouper of the King's, to whom he said, Sir King, seest thou all yonder people? yes truly (said the King) but why dost thou ask? because, (said Tyler) they are all at my command, and have sworn their truth and faith to me, to do whatever I bid them. In good time, (replied the King) I believe it well. Then, (said Tyler) believest thou King, that these people, and as many more that are in London, will depart from thee thus without having thy letters? No, (said the King) you shall have them, they are ready and shall be delivered to them all.

Wat Tyler, observing Sir John Newton to be near him, bearing the King's sword, was offended, saying, that it became him better to be on foot in his presence; the Knight answered stoutly, that surely there was no hurt in it, since he himself was on horse back. This so enraged Wat, that he drew his dagger, and offered to strike the Knight, calling him traitor, Sir John told him he lied, and drew his dagger likewise; Wat Tyler seeming much disturbed at this indignity, attempted before his rustic companions to have run upon the Knight, whom the King to preserve from danger commanded to alight from his horse, and deliver his dagger to Wat Tyler; but his haughty mind would not be so pacified, for he demanded his sword also, to which Sir John Newton answered, it is the King's sword, and thou art not worthy to have it, neither durst thou ask it of me, if there were no more here but thou and I. By my faith, (said Wat Tyler) I will never eat till I have thy head; and would thereupon have fallen upon him.

But at that very instant, William Walworth Lord Mayor of London, (a stout courageous person) accompanied with divers knights and esquires came to assist the King, to whom he said, my liege, it were a great shame, and such as had never before been heard of,

if in such a presence, they should permit a noble knight to be shamefully murdered, and that before the face of their sovereign, therefore he ought to be rescued, and Tyler the rebel to be arrested.

The Lord Mayor had no sooner spoke thus, but the King tho' he was very young, yet began to take courage, and commanded him to lay hands upon him; Walworth being a man of an incomparable spirit and courage, immediately arrested Tyler with his mace upon his head, and that in such a manner as he fell down at the feet of his horse, and those who attended the King presently encompassed him round, that his companions could not see him; and John Cavendish, an esquire of the King's, alighting from his horse, thrust his sword into Tyler's belly; although some write that the Mayor did it with his dagger, many others followed and wounded him in divers places to death, and then drew his body from among the people into St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

The commons perceiving their captain to be slain, cried out, their captain was traitorously murdered, and incouraged one another to fight, and revenge his death, and bent their bows; upon which the King rid to them, and said, what work is this my men? what do you mean to do? will you shoot your king, be not mutinous nor concerned for the death of a traitor and ribbald, I am your king, I will be your captain and leader, follow me into the field, and there you shall have whatsoever you desire. This the King said, for fear in their fury they should fire the houses in Smithfield, where their captain was slain; they thereupon followed him into the open field, though the soldiers that were with him were uncertain whether they would kill the King, or whether they would be quiet, and depart peaceably home with the King's charter.

In the mean time, William Walworth, the ever-renowned Lord Mayor, to prosecute his first worthy act, which had succeeded so happily, went only with one man, with all speed into the City, and there began to cry out, you good citizens, come to help your King, who is in danger to be murdered, and succour me your mayor who am in the same danger; or if you will not help me, yet leave not your King destitute.

The citizens who had a great esteem and affection for the King, no sooner heard this, but with a noble and loyal forwardness they immediately raised a thousand men, who being completely armed, stayed in the streets for some commander, who with the Lord Mayor might lead them to the assistance of the King in this his great distress, when by chance Sir Robert Knowls a freeman of the city

came in at that instant, whom they all desired to be their leader, which he very willingly accepted, and so with the Lord Mayor and some other knights, they were led to the King, who with all his company rejoiced very much at this unexpected assistance from these brave armed citizens, who all on a sudden encompassed the whole body of the commons.

And here in an instant was a very strange and remarkable alteration, for the commons presently threw down their arms, and falling on their knees begged pardon, and they who just before had boasted that they had the King's life in their power, were now glad to hide themselves in caves, ditches, and corn fields; the knights being desirous of revenge, intreated the King, that they might be permitted to take off the heads of a hundred or two of them; but the King would not grant it, but commanded the charter which they demanded, written and sealed, to be delivered to them at that time, for preventing further mischief, as doubting if they were not satisfied, the commons of Essex and Kent might rise again. Having got their charter they departed home.

The commons being thus dispersed and gone, the king called for the worthy Lord Mayor, and with great honour deservedly knighted him in the field, and gave him a hundred pound a year in fee, he also knighted five aldermen his brethren, girding them about the waist with the girdle of knighthood, as the manner was in those days; but Stow saith, it was thus, to cause the person to put a basenet on his head, and then the King with a sword in both his hands to strike him strongly on the neck. And for an eternal remembrance of this happy day, the King for the honour of the City granted that a dagger should be added to the arms of the City, in the right quarter of the shield, they before this time bearing only a cross without a dagger.

After this the king marched into the City with great joy, and went to his mother, who lodged in the Tower Royal, called then the Queen's Wardrobe, where she had continued two days and nights in great fear and trouble; but when she saw the King she was extremely comforted, saying, ah! fair son, what great sorrow have I suffered for you this day; to which the King answered, certainly madam, I know it well, but now rejoice and thank God, for I have this day recovered mine inheritance, and the realm of England, which I had almost lost. Then the Arch-bishop's head was taken off London Bridge, and Wat Tyler's set up in the place.

Now since some writers have reported that the rebel so valiantly struck down by Sir William Walworth was named Jack Straw, and not Wat Tyler, it may be necessary to give an account of the principal leaders and captains of the commons; of whom Wat Tyler was the chief, as being the first man who judged himself offended, there were likewise Jack Straw, John Kirby, Allen Thredder, Thomas Scot, and Ralph Rugg; these and divers others were commanders of the Kentish and Essex men.

And at the same time there were gathered together to the number of fifty thousand in Suffolk, by the incitement of John Wraw a lewd priest, who made one Robert Westbrome take upon him the name of king: these fell to destroying houses, but especially those of lawyers, and seizing Sir John Cavendish Lord Chief Justice of England, they beheaded him and set his head upon the pillory in St. Edmundsbury. The like commotion of the commons was at the same time also in Cambridgeshire, the Isle of Ely and Norfolk, conducted by John Litester a dyer; and to countenance their proceedings the more, they designed to have brought William Ufford Earl of Suffolk into their fellowship, but he having notice of their intent, suddenly rose from supper and got away.

Yet they compelled many other lords and knights to be sworn to them, and to ride with them, as the Lord Scales, the Lord Morley, Sir John Brewis, Sir Stephen Hales, and Sir Robert Salle, the last of whom not enduring their insolences, had his brains dashed out by a countryman that was his bondman; the rest terrified by his example were glad to carry themselves submissively to their commander, John Litester, who named himself King of the Commons, and counted it a preferment for any to serve him at his table, in taking assay of his meats and drinks, with kneeling humbly before him as he sat at meat.

And now these fellows upon consultation send two choice men, namely, the Lord Morley and Sir John Brewis, with three of their chief commons, to the King, for their charter of manumission, and freedom from bondage; who being on their way, they were met near Newmarket by Henry Spenser Bishop of Norwich, who examining if there were any of the rebels in their company, and finding three of the chief present, he instantly caused their heads to be struck off, and then pursued on toward Northwalsam in Norfolk, where the commons stayed for an answer from the King, and though he had at first but eight lances, and small number of archers in his company, yet they so increased, as to become a complete army,

with which he set upon the rebels, and routed them, taking John Litester and other principal ringleaders, whom he caused all to be executed, and by this means the country was quieted.

After this the Lord Mayor of London sat in judgement upon offenders, where many were found guilty and lost their heads, among others, Jack Straw, John Kirby, Alen Tredder, and John Stirling, who gloried that he was the man who had slain the Archbishop. Sir Robert Tresilian Chief Justice was likewise appointed to sit in judgement against the offenders, before whom fifteen hundred were found guilty, and in divers places put to death; among them John Ball their priest and incendiary, of whom it is not impertinent to relate a letter he wrote to his fellow rebels in Essex, by which we may see how fit an orator he was for such an auditory, and what strength of persuasion there was in nonsense.

"John Sheep, St. Mary, priest of York, and now of Colchester, greeteth well John Nameless and John the Miller and John Carter, and biddeth them that they beware of guile in burrough, and stand together in God's name, and biddeth Pierce Plowman go to his work, and chastise well Hob the Robber, and take with you John Trueman, and all his fellows and no more, John the Miller ye ground small, small, small; the king's son heaven shall pay for all, beware, or ye be woe; know of your friend from your foe; have enough and say hoe, and do well and better; flee sin and seek peace and hold you therein, and so biddeth John Trueman, and all his fellows."

Neither may it be amiss to declare the confession of Jack Straw at his execution; the Lord Mayor being present, spake thus to him, "John, behold thy death is at hand without remedy, and there is no way left for thy escape, therefore for thy soul's health, without making any lie, tell us what your intentions were, and to what end you assembled the commons." After some pause, John seeming doubtful what to say, the Lord Mayor added, "surely John thou knowest that if thou perform what I require of thee it will redound to thy soul's health." Being hereupon encouraged he made his confession to this purpose:

"It is now to no purpose to lie, neither is it lawful to utter any untruth, especially knowing that my soul must suffer more bitter torments if I do so; and because I hope for two advantages by speaking truth, first that what I shall say may profit the common-wealth, secondly that after my death I trust by your suffrages to

be helped and succoured according to your promises, by your prayers, I will therefore speak faithfully and without deceit.

At the same time when we were assembled upon Black-Heath, and had sent to the King to come to us, our purpose was to have slain all such knights, esquires, and gentlemen as attended him; and for the King we would have kept him among us, that the people might have more holdly repaired to us, since they would have thought that whatever we did, was by his authority. Finally when we had got strength enough, so as not to fear any attempt made against us, we would have slain all such noblemen, as should either have given council, or made resistance against us, but especially we would have slain all the knights of the Rhodes, or St. John of Jerusalem; and lastly we would have killed the King himself, and all men of estates, with bishops, monks, canons, and parsons of churches, only we would have saved Friars Mendicants for ministering the sacrament to us.

When we had been rid of all these, we would have devised laws, according to which the subjects of this realm should have lived; for we would have created Kings, as Wat Tyler, in Kent, and others in other counties. But because this our purpose was disappointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who would not permit the King to come to us; we sought by all means to dispatch him out of the way, as at length we did. And further, the same evening that Wat Tyler was killed, we were resolved (having the greatest part of the commons of the city inclined to join with us) to have set fire in four corners of the city, and so to have divided among ourselves the spoil of the chiefest riches that could have been found; and this (said he) was our purpose, as God may help me now at my last end."

After this confession he was beheaded, and his head was set upon London Bridge by Wat Tylers; and thus by the happy and prosperous success at London, this dangerous rebellion was fully quieted.

In 1392, and the fifteenth of Richard II. there happened some difference between that King and the Londoners; one occasion was, that the King would have borrowed of them a thousand pound, but they feeling much and fearing more the King's daily exactions, not only refused it, but abused a certain Italian merchant, who would have laid down the money. Another occasion was, that one of the Bishop of Salisbury's servants, named Walter Roman, taking an house-loaf out of a baker's basket in the street, ran with it into the bishop's house; the citizens demanded the delivery of the offender, but the bishop's men shut the gates, and would not suffer the constable to enter, upon

which many people got together, threatening to break open the gates, and fire the house, unless Roman was brought forth. What, said they, are the bishop's men privileged? or is his house a sanctuary? or will he protect those whom he ought to punish? if we may be abused in this manner, not only our streets, but our shops and houses shall never be free from violence and wrong, this we neither will, nor can endure, for it doth not become us.

And hereupon they approached the gates with great fury, but the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs having notice hereof, came to them and told them, that this was not courage but outrage which they shewed, whereby they would procure both danger to themselves, and displeasure against the whole city, and that though wrong had been done, yet they were not the persons, neither was this the way to redress the same.

Thus partly by persuasion, and partly by their presence and authority, they suppressed the riot and sent every man home, with strict charge to keep the peace. Hitherto there was no great mischief done, and the quarrel might have ended without any further trouble, had not the bishop stirred in it, and kindled the coals of contention afresh. For the Londoners were at that time not only secretly suspected, but openly noted to be favourers and followers of Wickliff's opinions, (which were contrary to the Pope and church of Rome) and upon that account the bishops were malicious against them, and most of their actions were interpreted to proceed from other causes, and to tend to worse purposes than they outwardly seemed to bear, yea many accidental matters were charged upon them to be done out of design and on purpose.

Whereupon John Waltham Bishop of Salisbury, and Lord Treasurer of England, made a grievous complaint against them for this last attempt, to Thomas Arundel Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor; alledging, that if upon every slight pretence, the citizens should be suffered in this manner, to affront the bishops without reproof or punishment, they would endanger not only the dignity and state, but the liberty of the whole church also; for (said he) did they not lately take upon them the punishment of adulterers, and other crimes appertaining to Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, maliciously alledging, that either the bishops, or their officers, were infamous for those vices themselves, and did therefore connive at the same in others; or else by covetous commutation and taking of money, did rather set those sins to sale, than endeavour carefully to suppress them. Did they not (said he) rudely and irreverently break open the doors upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, and interrupt his proceedings against John

Aston, an open disciple of Wickliff, and do we imagine that this is the last indignity they will offer? no certainly, nor yet the least, for if this boldness and insolence be not suppressed, our authority will soon fall into contempt and scorn, and will be made a common foot-ball for every base and unworthy citizen to kick at.

Armed with these furious arguments, they went together to King Richard, and so incensed him against the Londoners (his mind being before prepared by former provocations) that he was once resolved to have utterly ruined, and destroyed the whole city; but being persuaded to use more moderation, he in revenge first caused the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and many of the principal citizens to be committed to several prisons, the Lord Mayor to Windsor Castle, and others to other places; and then seized the liberties of the city into his hands, declaring, that no Lord Mayor should for the future be elected any more, but that the King should, at his pleasure, appoint a Warden, or Governor over the city. And this office was first committed to Sir Edward Darlington, who for his kindness toward the city was soon removed, and Sir Baldwin Radington put in his place.

The King was likewise persuaded by Arundel, Archbishop of York, to remove the terms and courts, that is, the Chancery, Exchequer, King's Bench, the Hamper Office, and the Common-pleas from London to York, where they continued from Midsummer 1393, till Christmas next following, to the great damage and loss of the City of London; but at last upon the earnest intreaty of the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, his uncles, the King sent for the Londoners before him to Windsor, where having first terrified them with the sight of a great number of soldiers, he caused all the privileges and charters of the city, both old and new, to be produced, some of which he restored to them, and detained others. Yet were not the citizens received fully into favour, neither did they recover the person or dignity of their Lord Mayor, at that time.

Shortly after the King went to London, at whose coming the citizens turned all their grief into joy (the vulgar being without measure in both) entertaining him with such joyful triumphs, and rich presents, as if it had been the day of his coronation, thinking by all these costly preparatious, to have pacified all former anger, and displeasure against them, but they found themselves much deceived, there being no reconciliation to be made without money; for they were not absolutely restored to their liberties till they had paid ten thousand pound to the king as a fine. Thus did the Londoners shew a strange diversity of disposition, in rashly committing an offence, and patiently induring

punishment, yet upon this account, as soon as the first occasion was offered against King Richard, they shewed themselves either his earnest enemies, or faint friends, as by the sequel appears.

In 1387, King Richard II. held his feast of Christmas in the Tower of London; and in the year 1399, the same King was sent prisoner to the Tower, which being a very remarkable transaction, it may be necessary to give a brief account thereof.

Richard the II^d was the only son of a renowned father, Edward, surnamed the Black Prince, who died before his father Edward III. and thereupon Richard, who by his grandfather in his life time, declared to be his heir and lawful successor, and, accordingly after his death was crowned King of England, at Westminster, July 16, 1377. But being of tender age, only eleven years old, several persons were commissioned to be his protectors, or guardians; and soon after a parliament was called at Westminster, wherein Alice Peirce, the late King's concubine, was banished, and all her goods confiscated; and two tenths of the clergy, and two fifteenths of the temporality were granted, but so as that two citizens of London, William Walworth, and John Philpot should receive, and keep it, to see it bestowed for defence of the realm. At which time Sir Hugh Calverly, Deputy of Calais, burnt twenty-six French ships in the Haven of Bologne; but one Mercer, a Scottish Pirate, came to Scarborough, and took divers ships, committing likewise many outrages, and no order being taken to repel them, John Philpot set out a fleet at his own charge, and encountering him in his own person, took Mercer and all his ships, and returning home, instead of being rewarded for his service, he was questioned for presuming to fit out a navy without the advice of the King's council.

While the King was in his minority, matters were carried indifferent well, but in the year 1387, King Richard begins to enter, as we may say, upon the confines of his destiny; his gracing of undeserving men, and disgracing of men deserving, if they were not the causes, were at least the occasions of his own disgracing; he was now come to be of full age to do all himself, which was indeed to be of full age to undo himself; for the errors of his younger years might be excused by inexperience, but the faults of the age he was now of, admit of no apology nor defence; and to hasten his destiny the sooner, the evil council which was formerly but whispered in his ear, they now had the confidence to give him aloud; for it was told him, "that he was under tuition no longer, and therefore not to be controlled as formerly he had."

been; that to be crossed of his will by his subjects, was to be their subject, that he is no sovereign if he be not absolute.

By the instigation of such counsellors as these, the King in a parliament then assembled, fell to expostulate with the lords, asking them, what years they thought him to be of; who answering, that he was somewhat more than one and twenty; well then, (said he) I am out of your wardship, and expect to enjoy my kingdom, as freely as yourselves at the like years enjoy your patrimonies. But (saith our author) his flattering favourites should have remembered, that though the King may not be controuled where he can command, yet he may be opposed where he can but demand, as now indeed he was, for when he demanded a subsidy toward his wars, he was answered, that he needed no subsidy from his subjects, if he would but call in the debts that the chancellor owed him; and if he were so tender, that he could not do that work himself, they would do it for him; and thereupon charged him with such crimes, that all his goods were confiscated, and himself adjudged to die if the King pleased. Though others write, his sentence was only to pay twenty thousand marks as a fine, and a thousand pound besides yearly.

This chancellor was Michael de la Pool, a merchant's son, who was lately made Earl of Suffolk, and Lord Chancellor of England, who with Robert Vere Earl of Oxford and Marquiss of Dublin, and some others, were King Richard's bosom favourites; and upon this provocation given them, they presently study revenge; and thereupon contrive, that the Duke of Gloucester (the King's uncle) as principal, and other lords, who crossed the King's courses, should be invited to a supper in London, and be there murdered; in the execution of which plot, the late Lord Mayor, Sir Nicholas Brember, was deeply concerned, but the present Lord Mayor, Richard Exton, though moved thereto by the King himself, utterly refused to do it, and thereupon this design miscarried.

But notwithstanding these heats, and many more, which passed in this parliament, yet a subsidy was at last granted to the King of half a tenth, and half a fifteenth, but with this express condition, that it should not be paid out, but by order from the lords, and the Earl of Arundel was to receive it; but before this time, it was absolutely agreed between both houses of parliament, that unless the chancellor was removed, they would proceed no farther.

The King having notice hereof, sent a message to the House of Commons, that they should send to Eltham (where he then lay) forty

of their house, to declare their minds to him ; but upon a conference between both houses, it was agreed, that the Duke of Gloucester, and Thomas Arundel Bishop of Ely, should in the name of the Parliament go to him ; who coming to the King declared, that by an old statute the King once a year might lawfully summon his court of parliament for reformation of all enormities and corruptions within the realm ; and further declared, that by an old ordinance, it was likewise enacted, that if the King should absent himself forty days, not being sick, the houses might lawfully break up, and return home ; at which it is reported the King should say, well, we perceive our people go about to rise against us, and therefore I think we cannot do better than to ask aid of our cousin the King of France, and rather submit ourselves to him, than to our own subjects. To which the lords answered, they wondered at his majesty's opinion, since the French King was the ancient enemy of the kingdom, and he might remember what mischiefs were brought upon the realm in King John's time by such courses. By these and the like persuasions, the King was induced to come to his parliament, wherein John Fordham Bishop of Durham, was discharged of his office as Treasurer, and Michael de la Pool of being Chancellor, and others by consent of Parliament put in their places ; likewise by order of parliament, thirteen lords were appointed under the King to have oversight of the whole government of the realm, that is the Bishop of Ely Lord Chancellor ; Bishop of Hereford Lord Treasurer, and Abbot of Waltham, Lord Privy Seal ; the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, with others ; but this division of the government was soon found inconvenient. This parliament also granted to Robert de Vere (lately created Duke of Ireland) thirty thousand marks, which the Frenchmen were to give to the heirs of Charles de Bloys, upon condition that before Easter following he should go over into Ireland ; so desirous were the lords and commons to have him removed from the King's presence.

But though the King gave way to this torrent of the parliament at present, yet as soon as they were dissolved, he dissolved likewise all they had done against his favorites, and received them into more favor than before. Awhile after the Duke of Ireland puts away his lawful wife, who was near a kin to the Duke of Gloucester, and married one of the Queen's maids, a vintner's daughter, at which the Duke of Gloucester was very much offended ; which the Duke of Ireland understanding, studied how by any means he might dispatch the Duke of Gloucester ; and Easter being now past, which was the time appointed

for the Duke to go into Ireland, the King pretending to go with him to the sea side, went with him into Wales, being attended likewise with Michael de la Pool, Robert Tresillian, a prime favourite, who was Lord Chief Justice, and divers others, where they consulted how to dispatch the Duke of Gloucester; the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Derby, Nottingham, with divers others of that party.

The King having remained some time in those parts, had quite forgot the voyage of the Duke of Ireland, and so brought him back with him again to Nottingham Castle. About the same time Robert Tresillian, Lord Chief Justice, came to Coventry, and there indicted two thousand persons; the King then called all the High Sheriffs of the counties before him, and demanded what strength they could make for him against the lords, if there should be occasion; to which they returned answer, that the common people did so favor the lords, as believing them to be loyal and true to the King, that it was not in their power to raise any great force against them. They were then commanded to take care, that no knight nor burgess should afterwards be chosen to any parliament, but those whom the King and his council should name; they replied, it was a hard matter in those times of jealousy and suspicion, to deprive the people of their antient liberties in choosing their representatives; after which they were dismissed.

And some of the judges of the realm being called, that is Robert Tresillian, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Robert Belknap, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, John Holt, Roger Fulthorpe, and William Borough, knights and judges, men learned chiefly in one point, that is, without considering truth or falshood to please those in high place; these were charged upon their allegiance to give true and full answers to the following questions:

- I. Whether the statute and commission in the last parliament, (that is against Michael de la Pool) were against the King's prerogative or not. To which they all answered, it was.
- H. How they were to be punished who procured that statute, &c. or who moved, or compelled the King to consent thereunto. They unanimously answered, they ought to be put to death as traitors, unless the King would please to pardon them.
- III. When a parliament is assembled, and the cause of their meeting declared, and common articles limited by the King, upon which the lords and commons in that parliament should proceed, if the lords and commons will go upon other articles, and not those appointed by the King, till the King hath first answered their

denies, though enjoined by the King to the contrary, whether the King in this case ought not to command the parliament, and oblige them to do his pleasure before they proceed further; they answered, that in this case, the King should over-rule, and if any presumed to do contrary, he was to be punished as a traitor.

IV. Whether the King may at his pleasure dissolve the parliament, and command the lords and commons to depart? they answered, that the King at his pleasure may dissolve the parliament, and whoever shall after proceed against the King's mind, as in a parliament, he is worthy to be punished as a traitor.

V. Since the King may at his pleasure remove any of his officers and justices, and punish them for their offences, whether may the lords, and commons, without the King's will, accuse them in parliament? they replied, they cannot, and whoever doth the contrary deserves to be punished as a traitor.

VI. What punishment they deserve who moved in parliament that the statute whereby King Edward of Carnarvan was deposed in parliament, should be produced, whereby a new statute should be made: it was answered, that as well he that moved it as he that brought the statute into the house were to be punished as traitors.

Lastly, Whether the judgment given in parliament against Michael de la Pool were erroneous and revocable, they answered it was erroneous and revocable, and that if the judgment were now to be given, the justices would not give the same.

At this time the Londoners incurred much obliquy, for having before been pardoned by the King of some crimes laid to their charge, they were now ready to comply with his desires, and a jury of them being impaneled, they indicted some lords of many crimes laid to their charge; and now the King, and the Duke of Ireland sent into all parts of the realm to raise men in this quarrel against the lords; and required the Mayor of London to give an account how many able men he could raise in the city, who answered, that he thought they could make fifty thousand men at an hour's warning; well, said the King, go and try what may be done: but when the Mayor went about it, the citizens answered, that they would never fight against the King's friends and the defenders of the realm. About this time the King intended to have apprehended the Duke of Gloucester, but he made his escape; and with other lords had got together a great power of men at Harringey Park, upon which the King commanded, that no citizen of

London should sell to the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Arundel, or any of the lords any armour or furniture of war, under a great penalty.

After this the King is persuaded to send to the lords to come to him at Westminster, upon oath given by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Chancellor, that no fraud nor evil practice should be used against them, which the lords were content to do, but when they were ready to come, they understood there was an ambush laid to entrap them, of a thousand men in the Mews; which the King absolutely denied he had any knowledge of; yet the lords after this receiving a safe conduct from the King, came to Westminster, of whose coming when the King heard, he apparelled himself in his royal robes, and with his scepter in his hand came into the great hall, before whom the lords upon their knees presented themselves, the King bidding them welcome, and taking each of them by the hand.

Then the Lord Chancellor made a speech wherein he blamed them for raising arms, desiring to know the cause; who answered, that they had done it for the good of the kingdom, and to remove the traitors about the King; upon which the King himself spoke, and asked them whether they thought to compel him by strong hands? Have not I, said he, sufficient power to beat you down? truly in this behalf, I make no more account of you than of the basest skullion in my kitchen. Yet after these great words, he lifted up the Duke of Gloucester, who all this while was kneeling, and commanded the rest also to rise, and then led them courteously to his chamber, where they sat and drank together, and at last it was concluded they should all meet again, as well these lords as those they accused at the next parliament, which the King promised he would speedily call, and each party to receive there according to justice, and in the mean while all parties should be under the King's protection.

But when the favourite lords heard this, they told the King plainly, they neither durst nor would put themselves to the hazard of such a meeting, and therefore the Duke of Ireland, and the rest of that faction left the court to be out of the way; but the King not induring their absence, appointed Thomas Molineux, Constable of the Castle of Chester, to raise an army, and to safe conduct the Duke of Ireland to his presence; but they being come as far as Radcoat Bridge, were encountered by the Earl of Derby; and the Duke of Ireland not daring to join the battle with him, fled, and being to pass a river, cast away his gauntlets and sword to be more nimble, and spurring his horse leaped into the river and so escaped; though it was reported he was

drowned, till news came he had got into Holland, where not being a welcome guest he wandered up and down two or three years, like a fugitive, and at Lorain in Brabant ended his life.

By this time the lords had got matter enough against the King, at least to justify their arms, and thereupon with an army of forty thousand men they came to London, where after some debate, they were received, and

went to the King, to whom lutations, they ter which he had Duke of Ireland, for their destruc- the letters which had written to a safe conduct into France, to his own dis- kingdom's.

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D. OF IRELAND.

his promise with the lords, which they understanding, sent peremptorily to him, that if he came not according to his word, they would chase another King who should hearken to the faithful council of his lords. This touched the King to the quick, so that the next morning he went and met them, and they declared to him how much it concerned the good of the kingdom that those traitors so often spoken of, should be removed from the court; to which the King, though much against his will, at last condescended, and thereupon the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Chichester fled: no man knew whether; the Bishop of Durham, Lord Treasurer, Lord Zouch, Lord Burrel, Lord Beaumont and others were expelled the court, and constrained to put in bail, to appear the next parliament. Also certain ladies were

expelled the court, as the Lady Poynings, Lady Moulton and others; several other knights with three of the King's chaplains, and the Dean of his chapel, were likewise committed to prison.

Shortly after, the parliament began, called afterwards the parliament that wrought wonders; on the first day whereof, all the judges but one, were arrested as they sat upon the bench, and sent to the Tower, and several lords and bishops were impeached; but the Lord Chief Justice Tresillian having made his escape, was afterward taken and hanged at Tyburn. Sir Nicholas Brember was beheaded with an axe which he had prepared for the beheading of others; after this divers lords and knights, and among the rest the steward of the King's household, were beheaded on Tower Hill. Also all the judges were condemned to die, but by the Queen's intercession, they were only banished the realm, and all their lands and estates confiscated, only a small salary was allowed them for their support. Finally, in this parliament an oath was required, and obtained of the King, that he would perform such things as the lords should order, and this oath was likewise required of all the People of the kingdom.

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D. OF GLOUCESTER.

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the parliament to be conferred upon certain persons, or to any seven or eight of them, and these by virtue of this grant, proceeded to conclude upon many things which concerned the whole parliament to the great prejudice of the state, and a dangerous example in time to come. A general pardon was also granted for all the King's subjects, except fifty, whose names he would not express, but reserved them to himself, that when any of the nobility offended him, he might at his pleasure name him to be one of the number excepted, and so keep them still within his danger. Also in this parliament the judges gave their opinions, that when articles are propounded by the King to be handled in parliament, if other articles be handled before those be first determined, that it is treason in them that do it. And for the more strengthening the acts of this parliament, the King purchased the Pope's bulls, containing several grievous censures, and curses to those that should break them.

And now the heads of the opposite faction having lost their heads, all things as well settled as could be desired, the King was secure as thinking himself safe, and he had been indeed safe, if time and fortune were not actors in revenge, as well as men, or rather if a superior power did not interpose, whose ways are as secret as himself is invincible. About this time it happened that Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, and Henry, Duke of Hereford, accused each other for speaking words sounding highly to the King's dishonour, whereupon a combat is agreed upon between them, which being ready to be began, the King interposed, and banished the Duke of Norfolk for ever, and the Duke of Hereford for six years. But soon after, several discontented lords solicit the Duke of Hereford to return into England and take the government upon him, and they would be ready to assist him; who thereupon without much deliberation prepares to come over, and landing at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, where many lords, gentlemen, and common people repaired to him, to whom he solemnly protests, that though some of them had invited him to come and take the government, yet he came only to take possession of the inheritance descended to him from his father, which King Richard unjustly and contrary to his promise had seized into his hands.

Hereupon many more lords join with him, and all the King's castles are surrendered to him, and the Lord Scroop, Treasurer of England, Sir Henry Bushy and Sir Henry Green being seized, were condemned; and beheaded for misgoverning the King and the realm. King Richard was at that time in Ireland, busy in suppressing the rebels, and had no notice of the Duke's arrival in England.

till six weeks after; but hearing of it, he sends the Earl of Salisbury before to raise an army, and promiseth to come himself within six days; the Earl provides an army of forty thousand men, but when the King came not at his time, they all disbanded and went away; the King coming over and finding how he was, fell into despair, and secretly the next night gets into Conway Castle.

The Duke of Hereford, (now Duke of Lancaster by his father's death) sends the Earl of Northumberland to the King, that if his grace would undertake there should be a Parliament called, wherein justice might be done, and himself pardoned all offences, he would be ready to come to him on his knees, and as an humble subject to obey him; yet upon this conference with the Earl, some say, the King required only that himself and eight more, whom he would name, might have an honorable allowance, with the assurance of a private quiet life, and that then he would resign his crown, and that upon the Earl's oath that this should be performed, the King agreed to go with the Earl to meet the Duke, but after four miles riding, coming to the place where they had laid an ambush, the King was seized, and carried prisoner to Flint Castle, where the Duke of Lancaster came to him, and bowing the knee thrice came toward him, whom the King took by the hand and lifted him up, saying, dear cousin, you are welcome, the Duke humbly thanking him, said, my Sovereign Lord and King, the cause of my coming at this present is (your honour saved) to have restitution of my person, my lands and heritage; whereto the King answered, dear cousin, I am ready to accomplish your will, so that you enjoy all that is yours without exception.

After this, coming out of the castle, the King called for wine, and then mounted on horse-back, and by easy journies came to London, and the next day he was committed to the Tower. As the King was carried toward London, divers citizens conspired to lye in wait by the way, and suddenly slay him, partly for private grievances, and partly for the severity he had used toward the whole City; but the mayor having notice thereof, prevented it, and rid forth with a considerable company to conduct him safely to the Tower, and soon after a Parliament was called by the Duke of Lancaster, but in the name of King Richard, where many lenious points of misgovernment were laid to his charge, and were drawn up into three and thirty articles, the chief whereof were.

That he had wastefully spent the treasure of the realm upon unworthy persons, whereby great taxes were laid upon the people; that

he had borrowed great sums of money, and given his letters patent to repay the same, and yet not one penny ever paid. That he had taxed men at the pleasure of himself and his unhappy council, and had spent the money in folly and not in paying poor men for their victuals and viand. That he said the laws of the realm were in his head and breast, by reason of which fantastical opinion he destroyed noblemen and impoverished the commons; that he most tyrannously and unprincely said, that the lives and goods of all his subjects were in his hands and at his disposition; that when divers lords, as well spiritual as temporal, were appointed by Parliament to treat of matters concerning the good of the kingdom, while they were busy therein, he and others of his party went about to impeach them of treason; and that the King caused all the rolls and records to be kept from them contrary to his promise made in Parliament, and to his open dishonour. That he had private spies in every place, and if any discoursed of his lascivious living or his illegal actings, he presently apprehended them, and grievously fined them. That he changed knights and burgesses of Parliament at his pleasure, putting out divers persons and placing others in their room to serve his will and appetite. That when divers lords and justices were sworn to speak the truth in many things which concerned the honour and profit of the realm; the King so threatened them that they durst not speak what was right. That by force and threats he compelled the judges of the realm to condescend to him, for destruction of divers of the lords. That he caused his father's own brother, the Duke of Gloucester, without law to be attached, and sent to Calais, and there without cause to be secretly murdered. That contrary to the great charter of England, he caused several lusty young men to challenge divers old men, upon matters determinable at common law in the court martial, where trial is only by battle; which old men, fearing, submitted themselves to his mercy, whom he fined unreasonably at his pleasure. That in all his leagues with foreign princes his way of writing was so subtle and dark that no other prince nor his own subjects could believe or trust him; that he craftily devised certain private oaths contrary to law, causing several to swear the same to the utter undoing of many honest men. That he assembled certain Lancashire and Cheshire men to make war upon the lords, and suffered them to rob and spoil without prohibition; that notwithstanding his pardon granted them, he enforced divers of those who joined with the lords to be again intolerably fined to their utter undoing.

Upon these and some other articles that were read, it was demanded of the nobility and of the commons, what they judged both of the truth and desert of these articles, who all agreed that the crimes were notorious, and King Richard was worthy for the same to be deposed from all princely honour and kingly government. The Duke of York who a little before had been governor of the realm for the King, thought it best that King Richard should voluntarily resign, and also be solemnly deposed by consent of all the states of the realm, for resignation only would be imputed to fear, and deprivation to force; and therefore this being concluded on, there came Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Hereford, the Duke of Lancaster, and several other lords and abbots to King Richard in the Tower of London.

When all were set in their places, King Richard was brought forth apparelled in his royal robes, the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand, and was placed among them in a chair of state; never was a prince so georgeous with less glory and greater grief, to whom it was not disgrace sufficient to lose both the honour and ornaments of a king, but he must openly do even in great scorn renounce the one and deliver up the other. After a little pause and expectation, the King rose from his seat, and spake to the assembly these words, or to this effect;

“ I assure myself that some at this present, and many hereafter will account my case lamentable, either that I have deserved this dejection if it be just, or if it be wrongful, that I could not avoid it; indeed I do confess that many times I have shewed myself both less provident and less painful for the benefit of the commonwealth than I should, or might, or intended to do hereafter; and have in my actions more respected the satisfying of my own particular humour than either justice to some private persons, or the common good of all, yet I did not at any time omit duty, or commit grievance upon natural dullness, or set malice, but partly by abuse of corrupt counsellors, partly by error of my youthful judgment, and now the remembrance of these oversights is not more unpleasant to any man than myself, and the rather, because I have no means left either to recompence the injuries which I have done, or to testify to the world my reformed affections which experience and stayedness of years had already corrected, and would daily have framed to more perfection.

“ But whether all the imputations wherewith I am charged be true, either in substance or in such quality as they are laid, or

whether being true, they are so heinous as to force these extremities, or whether any other prince, especially in the heat of youth, and in the space of twenty-two years, the time of my unfortunate reign, doth not sometimes either for advantage, or upon displeasure in as deep manner grieve some particular subject, I will not now examine; it helpeth not to use any defence, neither is it to any purpose to complain, there is left no room for the one nor pity for the other, and therefore I refer it to the judgment of God, and your less distempered considerations.

"I accuse no man, I blame no fortune, I complain of nothing, I have no pleasure in such vain and needless comforts, if I had minded to have stood upon terms, I know I have great favourers abroad, and I hope some friends at home, who would have been ready, yea very forward on my behalf to have begun a bloody and doubtful war; but I esteem not my dignity at so high a rate or value, as to venture the loss of so much English blood, and the wasting and desolation of such a flourishing kingdom as this, might have occasioned; therefore that the commonwealth may rather rise by my fall, than I stand by the ruin thereof, I willingly yield to your desires, and am here come to dispossess myself of all public authority and title, and to make it free and lawful for you to create for your King Henry Duke of Lancaster, my cousin german, whom I know to be as worthy to take that place as I see you are willing to give it to him."

Then he read openly the form of his resignation, which discharged his subjects from all oaths and fealty, &c. to which the King subscribed and was sworn; after which he delivered with his own hands the crown, the sceptre, and the robe to the Duke of Lancaster, wishing him more happiness therewith than ever he enjoyed, desiring him and the rest to permit him to live safely in a private and obscure life, and not altogether forget he had been their King.

Upon October 13 following, the Duke of Lancaster was crowned King by the name of Henry the Fourth, and King Richard was removed to Pomfret Castle, but some of the lords being discontented with Henry used many endeavours to restore Richard again, which caused great wars and rebellions, and occasioned such a melancholy in King Henry, that one time sitting at his table, he sighing said, "Have I no faithful friend who will deliver me from him that would be my death." This speech was especially noted by one Sir Piers of Exton, who presently with eight persons in his company came to Pomfret, commanding the esquire who was taster to King

Richard to be so no more, whereat the King marvelling, asked him the reason: sir, said he, I am otherwise commanded by Sir Piers, of Exton, who is newly come from King Henry; when King Richard heard that word he took the carving-knife in his hand, and struck the esquire lightly on the head, saying, "The Devil take Henry of Lancaster and thee together;" and with that word Sir Piers entered the chamber with eight armed men, every one having a bill in his hand. King Richard perceiving this, put the table from him, and stepping to the foremost man, wrested the bill out of his hands, and slew four of those that thus came to assault him; Sir Piers leapt to the chair where King Richard used to sit, whilst the rest chased him about the chamber; at last being forced to the place where Sir Piers was, he, with a stroke of his pole-ax upon his head felled him down, and so ended his miserable life. It is said, that at the point of his death, the King gathered some spirit, and with a faint and feeble voice, groaned forth these words:

"My great grandfather, King Edward the IIId. was in this manner deposed, imprisoned and murdered, by which means my grandfather King Edward the IIIId obtained the crown, and now is the punishment of that injury poured upon his next successor; well, this may be just for me to suffer, but not right for you to do. Your King for a time may rejoice at my death, and enjoy his desire, but let him qualify his pleasures with expectation of the same justice; for God, who measureth all our actions by the malice of our minds will not suffer this to go unpunished."

Sir Piers having thus slain the King, wept bitterly, and a great part of this prophetic speech came to pass in a short time after; King Richard thus dead, his body was embalmed and covered with lead, except his face, and then brought to London, where it lay in St. Paul's Church three days unburied, that all might see he was dead. And this was the end of this unfortunate Prince, in which there was a wonderful concurrence of fortune in behalf of King Henry, and against Richard, but when all is done, there is no resisting the Decree of Heaven; but since that is unknown to us, and perhaps but conditional, we shall be manifest traitors to ourselves if we use not our uttermost endeavours to divert it; so that it may be truly said that Richard lost his crown more by his own fault, than by the treason of any other. After this long diversion let us now return to the Tower of London.

In 1458 there were justs and tournaments in the Tower. In 1478, the Duke of Clarence was drowned in a butt of Malmsey within the Tower. Elizabeth, wife to King Henry VII. died in the Tower in

childbed, 1502. In the year 1512, the chapel in the high White Tower was burnt. Queen Ann Bullein was beheaded in the Tower, 1541; and a little after Catherine Howard, both wives to Henry the VIIIth. In 1546, a strange accident happened in the Tower, for one Foxly, who was pot-maker for the mint, falling a sleep could not be awakened by pinching, beating, or burning for fourteen days; at which time he awoke as fresh as the first day he began to sleep.

In King Henry the VIIIth's time the Tower was often full of prisoners, and among others Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, who was kept close prisoner, and at last they took from him all his books, whereupon he shut up the prison windows and lived in darkness; and being asked the reason, he answered, it is time to shut up shop when the wares are all gone. At his first entrance into the Tower, the gentleman porter demanded his fee, which is the upper garment, whereupon Sir Thomas pulled off his cap to give it him, but that not sufficing, he pulled out a handful of angels, and gave him a good many, a knight that was in his company telling him, that he was glad to see him have so many angels: yes, answered he, I love to carry my friends always about me. Not long after, the Lady Jane was beheaded there, and upon the scaffold she made a most ingenious speech, full of pity; that she came thither to serve for an example to posterity, that innocence cannot be any protection against greatness; and that she was come thither not for aspiring to a crown, but for refusing one when it was offered her.

In King James's time, there was no blood spilt in the Tower, or upon Tower Hill, only Sir Gervase Elways was hanged there when he was Lieutenant, about the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, and one remarkable passage there was in his speech upon the ladder, "That being in the low-countries, and much addicted to gaming, he made a serious wish, that if ever he played more above such a sum, he might be hanged, but he violated the oath, and so the just judgment of Heaven fell upon him according to his words." The Earl of Castlehaven in the year 1631, was brought from the Tower to be executed for horrid crimes; and divers others since have been executed there, as the Earl of Strafford, Archbishop Laud, and many more.

This stately Tower serves not only for a goal to detain prisoners, but for many other uses; it is a strong fort, or citadel, which secures both city and river. It is the treasury of the jewels and ornaments of the crown; it conserves all the old records of the courts of justice at Westminster, it is the place for the royal mint, and the coinage of gold and silver, it is the chief magazine and armory of the whole land.

for martial engines and provision, and there only is the brabe or rack, usually called the Duke of Exeter's daughter, because he was the first inventor of it, and lastly it is a great ornament, by the situation of it, both to the river and city.

This city hath had divers other towers besides; one at the north end of London Bridge, which is now utterly demolished, and the other at the south end, which hath suffered many accidents of firing, and otherwise, and was still repaired at the charge of the city. Upon this gate the heads of traitors are commonly placed, and some there are thereon at this day. Historians mention two castles that were built in the west part of the city, one called the Castle of Montfiquet, built by a lord of that name, which is now demolished; and the Black Fryars rose up instead of it; the other called Baynard's Castles from one Baynard, whose family long enjoyed it; and after that Robert Fitz-Walter, who was called Banner-Bearer of the City of London, and had great privileges. This castle fell afterwards to the Earl of March, who was crowned there by the title of Edward the IVth, to whom the city always stuck very close; but in the seventh year of his reign many of the greatest men in London were accused of high treason, and divers aldermen, whereof they were acquitted, yet did they forfeit their goods to the value of forty thousand marks, and among them Sir Thomas Cook, formerly Lord Mayor, without Hawkins, were committed to the Tower, neither could be discharged without paying eight thousand marks to the King. Henry the VIIth repaired Baynard's Castle, and rid through the city in state, with all the knights of the garter, from the Tower to St. Paul's Church, where they heard mass, and lodged that night at Baynard's Castle, Queen Mary was likewise proclaimed at Baynard's Castle, though the Lady Jane had been proclaimed a little before.

There was also another tower or castle near Baynard's Castle, but there is now no sign of it remaining; and another in the place where Bridewell now stands, which being demolished; yet there was a royal palace left where the Kings of England kept their courts, and King John summoned a parliament there; and afterward Henry the VIIIth repaired it, and made it much more stately for the entertainment of his nephew, Charles V. Emperor and King of Spain, who in the year 1522, was magnificently treated there.

There was another Tower called the Tower Royal, where King Stephen kept his court. Barbican was likewise another Tower. There was another called Serne's Tower, in Bucklersbury, where we read Edward the IIIrd kept his court, and gave it afterward to his free chapel of St. Stephen in Westminster, now called Henry the VIIIth's

Chapel, who spent fourteen thousand pound in building of it, and about the same time he built a great ship, which cost just so much. Thus much for the towers and castles of London.

*The Rivers, Wells, Conduits, Ditches, Bridges, &c.
in and about this City.*

IN former times, before William the Conqueror, and long after, the city was watered (besides the famous river of Thames in the South) with the river of Wells, as it was then called; and in the west with a water called Walbrook, running though the midst of the city into the river of Thames. There was also another water which ran within the city through Langbourn Ward, watering that part in the east. There were three principal fountains or wells in the other suburbs, that is Holywell, Clement's Well, and Clarke's Well; and near to the last were divers other wells, as Skinner's Well, Fog's Well, Tode Well, and Radwell, all which flowing into the River aforementioned, much increased the stream, and gave it the name of Wells.

It is recorded, Smithfield, there Horse Pool, and Parish of St. which they had and lanes of the and fresh springs was served with many conduits divers streets, nued till the 1666.

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For Queen before granted London by Act liberty for cutting a river from



H. MIDDLETON.

that in West was a pool called another in the Giles; besides in divers streets city fair wells by which the city sweet water; and were built in which contidreadful fire in which time for and enlargement likewise by re-Riverwater, con-Hugh Middle-conduits are removed.

Elizabeth having to the citizens of of parliament, ting and conveyany part of Mid-

desex or Hertfordshire, to the City of London, with a limitation of ten years time, her life ended before any would undertake it; whereupon the like act was passed by King James, but without date of time, and when all others refused it, Sir Hugh Middleton undertook to bring a River from Chadwell and Amwell to the North side of London, near Islington, where he built a cistern to receive it. This work was begun February 20, 1608, and in five years was fully accomplished, though with great difficulty, by reason of the difference and unevenness of the ground; the depth of the river in some places being thirty foot, and in other places the water is carried through a wood trough, and advanced above the valley near three and twenty foot.

When the water was brought to the cistern, but not as yet let in, upon Michaelmas Day, 1613, in the afternoon, Sir Thomas Middleton, brother to Sir Hugh, being that day elected Lord Mayor for the year ensuing, he together with the present Lord Mayor, Sir John Swinerton, Sir Thomas and Sir Henry Montague, the recorder, with divers other aldermen and citizens rode to see the cistern, and the water first issuing therein; at which time a troop of about three-score labourers, well appparelled, and wearing green Monmouth caps, all alike; armed with spades, shovels, pick-axes, and such instruments of labour, marched twice or three times round the cistern, the drums beating before them, and then presented themselves before the mount, where the Lord Mayor and Aldermen stood to behold them, and after one of them had made a handsome speech upon the occasion, the flood gates flew open, and the stream ran chearfully into the cistern, drums and trumpets sounding all the while in a triumphant manner, and a brave peal of muskets concluded the entertainments.

But above all the city owns its glory and riches, and many other blessings to the excellent river of Thames, whose head or first stream issues out of the side of a hill upon Cotswold Downs, about a mile from Tetbury, near to Foss a high road so called in former times, and was sometimes named Isis or the Ouse, from hence it runs to the East, as all good rivers should, though not without some turnings, and meets with the Cirne or Chiurn, a brook whereof Cirencester which is near it, is supposed to take the name. From hence it hasteth to Creeklade, Lechlade, Radcotbridge, Newbridge, and Evesham, receiving by the way abundance of small streams, brooks, and rivulets; and on this side the town divideth itself into two streams; the one goes directly to Hinckly and Botly, and the other to Godstow; this latter spreadeth itself for a while in divers small streams, which run not far before they meet again; and then encompassing divers fruitful meadows, it

passeth at length by Oxford, which some imagine should rather be called Ouseford of this river, and there it meeteth with the river Charnel, a little from whence the original branches join again, and keep company to Abington, though no part of it did formerly come so near the town as now it doth, till a branch thereof was led thither by the main stream, through the industry of the monks, as also by the decay of Caerdoure, now called Dorchester, sometimes the high road from Wales and the west country to London.

From thence it goeth to Dorchester, and so into Thames, where joining with a river of that name, it is called no more Ouse but Thames; from thence it goeth to Wallingford and so to Reading, which was formerly called Pontium, because of the number of bridges. There it joins with the River Kennet, which comes from the hills west of Marlborough, and soon after with the Thetis commonly called the Tyde which comes from Thetisford; it goes from thence to Sudlington, or Maidenhead, and so to Windlestone or Windsor, Eaton, Chertsey, Staines, and there receiving another stream by the way called Cole, where Colebrook stands, it proceeds to Kingston, Richmond, Sheen, Sion, and Brentford, where it meets with another stream called the Brene coming from Edgworth; it runs then by Mortlake, Putney, Fulham, Battersea, Chelsea, Lambeth, Westminster, and so to London.

And passing through the bridge the first water that falls into it is Brome, west of Greenwich, whose spring comes from Bromley in Kent. The next river is on Essex side over against Woolwich which is called Lee, and falls into it; and awhile after the river Derwent on Kent side falls therein, having its rise from Tunbridge; the next water that falls into the Thames is a rivulet of no great note, west of the Wain Isles; last of all the river of Thames mingled with the river Medway, which comes out of Kent by Rochester, Chatham, and divers other places, and waters all the south parts of Kent.

This noble river for its breadth, depth, gentle streight even course, extraordinary wholesome waters and tides, is more commodious for navigation than perhaps any other river in the world; the sea flows gently up this river fourscore miles, that is almost to Kingston, twelve miles above London by land, and twenty by water, bringing the greater vessels to London, and the smaller beyond, and then boats are drawn to Oxford against the stream, and many miles higher.

As oft as the moon comes to the north-east, and south-west points of Heaven, it is high water at the city, the one point in our hemisphere, and the other in the other. The highest tides are upon a landflood,

the wind north-west at the equinoctial, and the moon at full, when these four causes concur, which is very rare, and then the Thames overflows its banks in some places, and Westminster is somewhat endamaged in their cellars, but not in their upper rooms; this river opening eastward toward France and Germany is much more advantageous for traffic than any other river in England; wherein there is contained variety of excellent fish, and on both sides thereof lies a fruitful and fat soil, pleasant rich meadows, and innumerable stately palaces. So that the Thames seems to be the radical moisture of the city and in some sence the natural heat too, for almost all the fuel for firing is brought up this river from Newcastle, Scotland, Kent, Essex and other parts; from this river the city by water engines is in many places supplied with excellent wholesome water, and also almost twenty conduits which are yet remaining of pure spring water, as well as by the New River aforementioned, of which river we shall add, that it comes from Amwell and Chadwell two springs near Ware in Hertfordshire from whence in a turning and winding course it runs threescore miles, before it reaches Islington; over this river are made eight hundred bridges, some of stone, some of brick and some of wood, six hundred men were at once employed in this great work. It is carried in pipes of wood under ground into most streets of this city, and from thence with pipes of lead into houses, it serves the highest parts of London in their lower rooms, and the lower parts in their highest room. This city likewise is so situated, that in all parts, though in the highest ground it is abundantly served with pump water, and these pumps in many places not six foot deep in the ground.

The vast traffic and commerce whereby this city doth flourish may be guest at chiefly by the customs which are paid for all merchandize imported or exported, which in the Port of London only, amounts to above three hundred thousand pounds a year; and by the vast number of ships, which by their masts resemble a forest, as they lie along the stream, besides many that are sent forth every year to carry and fetch commodities to, and from all parts of the known world, now for the preservation of the river Thames, there is a court of conservacy kept by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, (under whom is a water bailiff and other officers,) they commonly fish eight times every year in the four counties of Middlesex, Surry, Kent, and Essex, where they have power to impanel juries, and to make inquisition into, and punish all offences committed upon the river within their jurisdiction and extent; which begins at a place called Colny Ditch, a little above Staines Bridge westward; and from thence all along through London

Bridge to a place called Yendal, alias Yenlet, and the waters of Medway near Chatham in Kent eastward.

This river as we have said, is full of all sorts of excellent fish, as sweet salmons after the time of the smelt is past, wherein no river in Europe exceeds it; it hath likewise store of barbels, trout, chevins, pearches, smelts, breams, roches, daces, gudgeons, flounders, shrimps, eels, &c. only it seems not to be so stored with carps, except that by land-floods, they are sometimes brought out of gentlemen's ponds; there are great numbers of swans daily seen upon this river, and about two thousand wherries and small boats, whereby three thousand poor watermen are maintained, by bringing goods and passengers thereon, besides the large tilt-boats, tide-boats and barges, which either carry people, or bring provision from all parts of the counties of Oxford, Berks, Buckingham, Bedford, Hertford, Middlesex, Essex, Surry and Kent to the city of London.

To conclude this famous river of Thames, taking all her advantage together, surpasseth all others that pay tribute to the ocean, if we consider the streightness of its course, the stillness of its streams, considering its breadth, as also its length, running above ninescore miles before it comes into the sea, and the conveniency of its situation being toward the middle of England; it hath likewise one peculiar property more, that the entrance into this river is safe, and easy to Englishmen, and natives, but difficult and hazardous to strangers, either to go in and out without a pilot; insomuch that in the whole, the Thames may be said to be London's best friend, as may appear by a passage in the reign of King James, who being displeased with the city, because they would not lend him a sum of money which he required, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen attending him one day, being somewhat transported with anger, the King said, he would remove his own court, with all the records of the Tower, and the courts of Westminster Hall to another place, with further expressions of his indignation. The Lord Mayor calmly heard all, and at last answered, your Majesty hath power to do what you please; and your city of London will obey accordingly, but she humbly desires that when your Majesty shall remove your courts, you would please to leave the river of Thames behind you. Having been thus long upon the water, it is now time to land and take a view of the great and stupenduous bridge, which if the situation and structure thereof be well considered, may be said to be one of the wonders of the world; of which an ingenious gentlemen deceased made this poem;

When Neptune from his billows London spy'd,
 Brought proudly thither by a high spring tide;
 As through a floating wood he steer'd along,
 And dancing castles clustered in a throng;
 When he beheld a mighty bridge give law,
 Unto his surges, and their fury awe,
 When such a shelf of cataracts did roar,
 As if the Thames with Nile had chang'd her shore;
 When he such massy walls, such towers did eye,
 Such posts, such irons on his back to lie;
 When such vast arches he observ'd that might,
 Nineteen Rialto's make for depth and height,
 When the Cerulean god these things survey'd,
 He shook his trident, and astonish'd said;
 Let the whole world now all her wonders count,
 This bridge of wonders is the paramount.

At first there was only a ferry kept where the bridge now is, and the ferry-man and his wife dying, left it to their only daughter a maiden named Mary, who with the profits thereof, and money left her by her parents, built a house for nuns in the place where the east part of St. Mary Overies church now stands, above the quire where she was buried; and unto these nuns she bequeathed the benefit, and oversight of the ferry, but that being afterwards turned to a house of priests, they built a bridge of timber, which they kept in good repair till at length considering the vast charge thereof by the contributions of the citizens and others, a bridge was built of stone.

Several accidents have happened concerning this bridge, of which many have been mentioned in the reign of the several Kings. In the first year of King Stephen a fire began near London-stone, and burnt East to Aldgate, and west to St. Paul's Church, the bridge of timber upon the river of Thames was also burnt, but afterward repaired. In 1163, this bridge was not only repaired, but built of new timber, as before by Peter of Cole-church priest and chaplain, which shews, that there was a timber bridge at least two hundred and fifteen years before the bridge of stone was erected, which was maintained partly by gifts, and partly by taxes in every shire. In the year 1176 the foundation of the stone-bridge was first laid by the aforesaid Peter of Cole-church near the place of the timber bridge, but somewhat more to the west, for we read that Buttolph's wharf was at the end of London Bridge; the King countenanced and assisted the work; to perform

which, the course of the river Thames was turned another way about, by a trench cast up for that purpose, beginning in the east about Rotherhithe, and ending in the west at Battersea.

This work, that is the arches, chapel, and the stone bridge over the Thames at London, was thirty-three years in building, and was finished in 1209 by these worthy citizens of London, William Serle, mercer, William Alman, and Benidict Botewrite, who were principal masters of this fabrique, for Peter of Cole-church died four years before, and as the principal benefactor he was buried in the chapel on London Bridge. A mason who was master workman of the bridge, built this large chapel from the foundation, at his own charges, which was then endowed for two priests, and four clerks; after the finishing the chapel which was the first building on those arches, divers mansion houses in time where erected, and many charitable persons gave lands, tenements or sums of money toward the maintenance of the bridge, all which were formerly registered, and fairly written in a table for posterity, and hung up in the chapel, till the same chapel was turned into a dwelling house, and then it was removed to the bridge-house, and it recorded that all the payments and allowances which belonged to London Bridge in King Henry the VII. time, amounted to 815*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* a year, by which account then, may be partly guest, the great revenues and incomes of this bridge, and what increase is made of it by this time.

But this noble bridge like other earthly things hath suffered many disasters since, for some years after the finishing thereof, that is in 1212 on the 10th of July at night, the Borough of Southwark on the south side of the Thames, as also St Mary Overies Church being on fire, and an exceeding great multitude of people passing the bridge, either to quench or gaze upon it, on a sudden the north part of the bridge by the blowing of the south wind was also set on fire, and when the people who were going over would have returned, they were stopped by the fury of the fire, and as they stayed in a consternation the south end of the bridge likewise fell on fire, so that the people throwing themselves between two raging fires expecting nothing but present death, where-upon there came many ships, boats and vessels to save them, into which the multitude rushed so unadvisedly that the ships being thereby sunk, they were all drowned; and it was found that above three thousand persons were destroyed by the fire and shipwreck, part of whose bodies were found half burned, besides those who were wholly burnt to ashes, and could not be found.

In 1282, after a great frost and deep snow, five arches of London Bridge were bourn down and carried away. In 1289 the bridge was

so much decayed that people were afraid so go over it, but by a subsidy granted it was repaired. In 1395, on St. George's day there was a great justing on London Bridge, between David Earl of Crawford of Scotland, and the Lord Wells of England, which shews that the bridge was then only coaped in, but not built with houses as it is now. The next year November 30th, the young Queen Isabel wife to Richard II. commonly called the little Queen, for she was but eight years old, was brought from Kenington over the bridge to the Tower of London, and such a multitude of people went on the bridge to see her, that nine persons were crouded to death, and among the rest the prior of Tiptree in Essex was one, and an ancient matron in Cornhill another. In the 1633 there happened a great fire on London Bridge, but it was again handsomely repaired. In the dreadful fire 1666, a great part of the north buildings of the bridge were burnt down, and are not yet all rebuilt.

To conclude, this bridge for admirable workmanship, for vastness of foundation, for all dimensions, and for solid stately houses and rich shops built thereon, surpasseth all others in Europe, it hath nineteen arches founded in a deep broad river, made of square stone, sixty feet in height and thirty feet in breadth, distant twenty feet one from another, compact and joined together with vaults and cellars, and built as some say upon ozy soft ground, being eight hundred feet in length and thirty broad, and a drawbridge almost in the middle.

Besides this noble bridge there are others belonging to the City, as three stately bridges of stone built since the fire over Fleet Ditch, and also Holborn Bridge, the ditch being enlarged, cleansed, and curiously fenced of each side with stone and rails, and store-houses, for coals of each side, it is likewise free from houses for twenty feet on each side, and made exceeding handsome, to the great charge of this City; there were likewise some small bridges over the town ditch, but now is curiously arched over with brick, and doth no where appear, but is paved even as the street.

The Government of the City of London.

THE civil government of this city is not as it is in Rome, Paris, Madrid, Vienna, by a chief magistrate or some nobleman set over the city by the king or supreme governor; as it was here in the time of the Romans, when the chief magistrate was called the Prefect of London, or in the time of the Saxons, when he was called the Portgrieve, Custus or Guardian, and sometimes Provost of London, but after the coming of the Normans, the chief magistrate was called Bailive, from the French, or Commissarine, one that hath a commission to govern, and there were sometimes two Bailiffs of London, till Richard I. 1189, changed the name of Bailiff into Mayor, which hath held ever since.

The Mayor is a citizen chosen every year by the citizens, except upon some occasions their privileges and franchises have been taken from them as in the time of Henry 3. and Edward I. and of latter times the Mayor, though always a citizen or tradesman, hath been of such high repute and esteem, that in all writing and speaking to him the title of Lord is prefixed, which is given to no others, but either noblemen, bishops, or judges, and of late times to the Mayor of York, or to some of highest officers of the realm, he is likewise for his great dignity usually knighted before his year is out; his table, (and likewise the two Sheriffs,) is usually such that it is not only open to all comers, strangers, and others that are of any quality, but so well furnished that it is always fit to receive the greatest subject in England, or if any other prince, nay it is recorded that a Lord Mayor of London hath feasted four kings at once at his table.

The officers that belong to the Lord Mayor are eight of them called esquires by their places, that is the Sword-bearer, the Common Hunt, (who keeps a gallant kennel of hounds for the Lord Mayor's recreation,) the Common Cryer and four Water Bailiffs; there is also the Coroner, three Serjeants Carvers, three Serjeants of the Chamber, a Serjeant of the Channel, four Yeomen of the Water-side, one under Bailiff, two Yeomen of the Chamber, three Meal Weighers, and two Yeomen of the Wood Wharfs, most of which have their servants allowed them and have liveries for themselves.

The state and magnificence of the Lord Mayor appears when he goes abroad, which is usually on horseback, with rich caparisons, himself always in long robes, sometimes of fine scarlet cloth, richly furred, sometimes purple, sometimes puce, with a great chain of gold about his neck, and many officers walking before, and on all sides of him, but more especially on the twenty-ninth of October, when he goes to Westminster in his barge, accompanied with all the aldermen, and attended by all his officers, with the liverymen of the several companies or corporations in their stately barges with their arms, colours, and streamers, and having there in the Exchequer Chamber before the judges taken his solemn oath, to be true to the King and government, he returns in like minner to Guildhall, that is the great common hall of guilds, or incorporated confraternities, where is prepared for him and his brethren a sumptuous dinner; and his present Majesty and Queen, and divers noblemen and persons of honour have of late years been pleased to dine there with him, and most times many foreign ambassadors dine there also, and all the judges.

This great magistrate upon the death of the King, is said to be the prime person of England, and therefore when King James was invited to come and take the crown of England, Robert Loe, then Lord Mayor of London, subscribed in the first place, before all the great officers of the crown, and all the nobility; he is usually chosen on Michaelmas day, out of twenty-six aldermen, all persons of great wealth and wisdom; his authority reaches not only over all this great city, and part of the suburbs, but likewise to the river of Thames, as is aforementioned, with power to punish and correct, all that shall annoy the stream, banks, or fish; only the strength and safety of the river against an invasion, and securing merchandize and navigation by block-houses, forts, or castles is the care of the king.

There are divers courts of judicature of high importance belonging to the Lord Mayor and City of London; the highest and most antient court is called the hustings, which doth preserve the laws, rights, franchises and customs of the city. There is a court of requests or conscience; the court of the lord mayor and aldermen, where also the recorder and sheriffs sit; two courts of the sheriffs, one for each counter; the court of the city orphans, whereof the lord mayor and aldermen have the custody. The court of common council, consisting (as the parliament of England) of two houses, one for the lord mayor and aldermen, and the other for the commoners, but they sit altogether. In which court are made all the bye-laws, which bind all the citizens of London, for every man either by himself, or by his representative

gives his assent thereunto, wherein consists the happiness of the English subjects, above all the subjects of any other prince in the world; that neither in laws, nor in bye-laws, neither in taxes or imposts, no man is obliged to do or pay any thing but by his own consent. There is another court of the chamberlain of the city, to whom belongs the receipts of the rents and revenues of the city, and likewise the business of enrolling and making free apprentices, over whom he has a great authority. To the lord mayor also belongs the courts of coroner, and another court for the conservation of the river of Thames. Lastly, the court of goal-delivery at Newgate, held usually eight times a year, at the Old Bailey, both for the City and Middlesex, for the trial of criminals, whereof the lord mayor is chief judge, and hath the power to reprieve condemned persons. There are other courts called Wardmote, or the meeting of wards, whereof there are twenty-six in the whole city, and every alderman hath a several ward appropriated to him. In this court enquiry is made into all things that can conduce to the regulating and well governing of the city. Also the court of Hallmote, or assembly of every guild, and fraternity for regulating what belongs to every company in particular. There are likewise two sheriffs belonging to this city, which like the lord mayor, are only for a year, and are elected generally upon Midsummer Day. The name is thought to be Saxon, from Shire, or county and rive governor. His office is to serve the King's writs of attachment, to return indifferent juries, to see that the public peace be kept, and that condemned persons be executed, &c. Newgate, Ludgate, and the two counters are put into the custody of the sheriffs.

For the ecclesiastical government, there is a bishop, and the present is Dr. Henry Compton, and to the cathedral of St. Paul's, belongs a dean, a chapter, a treasurer, and thirty prebendaries. A rector or vicar is placed in every parish for the cure of souls, and there is in every parish a parsonage or vicarage house for the minister, and in most parishes a competent allowance of tithes.

The several Companies or Corporations of the City of London, and the time of their Incorporation.

THE traders of the City of London are divided into companies or corporations, and are so many bodies politic, enjoying large privileges by the charters of divers kings, granted to them, and have places to meet in, called halls, some whereof like so many palaces (with arms belonging to each company) worthy to be seen by strangers. The arms of this famous City of London are, argent cross gules, with the sword of St. Paul (say some) and not the dagger of William Walworth, for it is recorded this coat did belong to the city long before Wat Tyler's rebellion.

1. **Mercers.** They were incorporated 17 Richard II. 1393.
2. **Grocers.** First called Pepperers, incorporated 28 Edward III.
3. **Drapers.** Incorporated 17 Henry VI.
4. **Fishmongers.** The Stock and Salt, incorporated 28 Henry VIII.
5. **Goldsmiths.** They were made a company 16 Richard II.
6. **Skinners.** Incorporated first by Edward III. confirmed 18 Richard II.
7. **Merchant Taylors.** They were compleatly incorporated by Henry VII. 1501.
8. **Haberdashers.** Incorporated 17 Henry VII. called St. Kath. society.
9. **Salters.** Had their arms 22 Henry VIII. Crest and supporters by Queen Elizabeth.
10. **Ironmongers.** They were made a company 3 Edward IV.
11. **Vintners.** Incorporated by Edward III. and confirmed by Henry VI.
12. **Clothworkers.** Grew to be a company 22 Henry VIII.
13. **Dyers.** Incorporated first by a Charter from Henry VI.
14. **Brewers.** Incorporated by Henry VI. confirmed by Queen Elizabeth.
15. **Leather-sellers.** First incorporated 6 Richard II.
16. **Pewterers.** They were made a society by King Edward IV.

17. Barber Chirurgeons. First incorporated by Edward IV. and confirmed by every Prince since.
18. Armourers. Incorporated by Henry VI. himself being of the company.
19. White Bakers. Incorporated 1 Edward II.
20. Wax Chandlers. In great credit in the times of Popery. Incorporated 2 Richard III. 1484.
21. Incorporated 2 Edward IV. and confirmed by King James.
22. Cutlers. They were made a company by Henry V. and others since.
23. Girdlers. They were made a company 27 Henry VI.
24. Butchers. They were not incorporated till 3 King James.
25. Sadlers. They are ancient, from Edward I. 300 years ago.
26. Carpenters. They were incorporated 7 July, 17 Edward IV.
27. Cordwainers or Shoemakers. Incorporated 17 Henry VI. and confirmed since.
28. Painters or Painter Stainers. Incorporated 23 Queen Elizabeth, 1580.
29. Curriers. They are antient, but not incorporated till 12 June, 3 King James.
30. Masons or Free Masons, were made a company 12 Henry IV.
31. Plumbers. They were made a corporation 9 King James.
32. Innholders. They were made a company 6 Henry VIII.
33. Founders. Incorporated 18 September, 12 King James.
34. Embroiderers. Incorporated 4 Queen Elizabeth.
35. Poulterers. Incorporated by Henry VII. and confirmed 33 Queen Elizabeth.
36. Cooks. Incorporated 12 Edward IV. and confirmed by Queen Elizabeth and King James.
37. Coopers. They were made a company 18 Henry VII.
38. Bricklayers, or Tylers. Incorporated by Queen Elizabeth, confirmed 2 King James.
39. Bowyers. The time of their Incorporation was 21 King James.
40. Fletchers. They are also a corporation, but when made is uncertain.
41. Blacksmiths. Incorporated 20 Queen Elizabeth, confirmed 2 King James.
42. Joiners. Incorporated 13 Queen Elizabeth.
43. Plaisterers. Incorporated Henry VII.
44. Weavers, now Silk Weavers. Very antient, having 3 societiss.
45. Fruiterers. Incorporated 3 King James.

46. **Scriveners.** Antient, yet not incorporated till 14 King James.
47. **Bottlemakers or Horners.** They are of great antiquity but not incorporated.
48. **Stationers.** Of great antiquity, before printing, and incorporated 3 Philip and Mary.
49. **Marblers.** Not incorporate, unless joined with the masons.
50. **Wool-Packers.** They flourished in the time of the Woolstaple.
51. **Farriers.** They rise from Henry de Ferraris, Master of the Horse to William the Conqueror.
52. **Paviours.** They have kept friendship together many years.
53. **Loriners.** They have a hall in Coleman-street Ward, upon London Wall.
54. **Brown Bakers.** They are of long standing, and incorporated 19 King James.
55. **Woodmongers.** Incorporated 3 King James, have lost their charter.
56. **Upholsterers.** Formerly much esteemed, but we do not find when incorporated.
57. **Turners.** They were made a company 2 King James.
58. **Glaziers.** Of antient friendship, but their incorporation unknown.
59. **Clerks, called Parish Clerks,** were incorporated 17 Henry III.
60. **Watermen.** They are a brotherhood, regulated by the Lord Mayor of London.
61. **Apothecaries.** Divided from the Grocers, incorporated 15 James.
62. **Silk-throwers.** Incorporated 23 April, 5 Charles I.

Out of the twelve first of these companies, is the Lord Mayor chosen, or at least he is made free of one of them, after he is elected. The livery-men of all these companies meet together at Guildhall for choosing Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Parliament-men (whereof there are four for the city) and other officers, which is called a common hall; they are elected by the majority of voices.

The Wards and Precincts of the City of London.

THE general division of the wards of this city, since their purchasing the liberties of Southwark, in the County of Surry, consists of twenty-six aldermen to govern them, the names of which are as follow.

1. Tower Street Ward, so called from the Tower of London; unto this ward belongs Sydon, or Seething Lane, part of Mark Lane, Mincing Lane, and Beer Lane; in this Lane is Baker's Hall, then two lanes called Church Lanes, and next to them Fowl Lane; the church of St. Dunstan's in the east, and the Custom House, where is received and managed all the impositions laid on merchandize, imported or exported from the city, which is so considerable, that of all the customs of England, divided into three parts, the port of London pays two thirds, that is, above £33,0000 yearly. This house being destroyed by the late dreadful fire in the year 1666, is now rebuilt in a much more magnificent, uniform, and commodious manner by the king, and hath cost his Majesty £1000 building. In this ward there are remarkable, the Tower of London. Two halls of companies, the Cloth-workers, and the Bakers. This Ward hath an alderman, a deputy, eleven common-council men, and 3 parish churches. Allhallows, Barking, St. Olave Hart Street, and St. Dunstan's in the east, the last of which, with great part of the Ward, was burnt down by the late dreadful fire, but is lately rebuilt, and an organ placed therein; thirteen constables, twelve scavengers, thirteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

2. Portsoken Ward, wherein is contained the east part of the Tower, the Hospital of St. Katherines, East Smithfield and Tower Hill, where there is a store-house for keeping provisions for the royal navy, called the Slaughter House. The Merchant Taylors have in this ward alms-houses for fourteen women; next is the Minories, then Hog Lane, near Goodman's Fields, and the ward ends in Petticoat Lane. This Ward hath an alderman and his deputy, six common council-men, two parish churches, Trinity Minories and St. Buttolph's.

Aldgate, four constables, four scavengers, eighteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

3. Aldgate Ward, so named from the gate; the chief street begins between the Gate and Lime Street, and goes again to Billeter Lane, and Fenchurch Street, to Culver Alley, from thence to Crutched Friars, Woodroof Lane, Hart Street, and the north end of Mark Lane, where the Ward endeth. Wherein there are three parish churches, St. Katherine Cree Church, St. Andrew Undershaft, and St. Kathelines's Coleman; and there were three halls of companies, that is the Bricklayer's Hall, Fletcher's Hall, and Ironmonger's Hall. This Ward hath an alderman, deputy, and six common council-men; six constables, nine scavengers, eighteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

4. Lime Street Ward, which hath no parish church therein, nor any one whole parish, but only small portions of two parishes. This Ward hath an alderman, his deputy, and four common council men; four constable, two scavengers, sixteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

5. Bishopsgate Ward, part of which is without the Gate, from St. Mary Spittle to Bishopsgate, and almost half Houndsditch, and Bethlehem, east of the new postern to Morefields. In this Ward is Fisher's Folly (now called Devonshire House, and lately made into stately buildings) the old Artillery Ground, Spittle Fields, now built into streets; likewise the church of St. Buttolph's, Bishopsgate. Within the Gate this Ward contains Bishopsgate Street, to the east end of St. Martin's Outwich Church, and then winding by Leadenball down Grace-Church Street, Great St. Helen's, and Little St. Helen's. In this Ward there is remarkable, Bethlehem, which is now removed to Morefields, St. Mary Spittle, where sermons are preached Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays in Easter week, yearly: also the church of St. Buttolph's, Bishopsgate, the small church of St. Ethelborough, and the fair church of St. Helen; near this church a child was found buried in the seacoal ashes by his unnatural mother, with his face upward, yet found alive, without any rag about it, but all bloody, because the naval string was untied; the body was crusted over with seacoal dust, but being made clean by a poor woman, it was found to be a very handsome male child, strong and well featured, without any harm done to it, but only sucking in the ashes; he was christened and named *Job cinere extractus*, Job taken out of the ashes; he lived three days, and lies buried in that church yard. This Ward hath an alderman, and two deputies, one within and another without the Gate,

eight common council men within, and three without, seven constables, seven scavengers, thirteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

6. Broad Street Ward, so called from the street, wherein is contained Throgmorton Street, Threadneedle Street, half Finch Lane, and an alley; and to the east end of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, and to a pump over against St. Bennet Finck's church. In this Ward is part of Gresham College, and eight alms-houses. The church of St. Peters Poor, in Broad Street, Augustine's Friars, now the Dutch church, the church of St. Martin's Outwich, St. Bennet Finck, St. Bartholomew Exchange, and St. Christopher's parish. Also Carpenter's Hall, Draper's Hall, and Merchant Taylor's Hall; then there was St. Anthony's College or Hospital, which is now a church for the French nation, and exercise Calvin's religion. Scalding Alley is the farthest part of this Ward; wherein there is an alderman, his deputy, and nine common council men, ten constables, eight scavengers, thirteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

7. Cornhill from a corn-kept there; the therein is the formerly called first erected in downan hundred was built at the of Sir Thomas merchant, and mand of Queen claimed and Exchange; it of brick, and yet splendid burse sidered) that was before the build-burse for mer-in Lombard-str. ful fire it was re-stone, with such mirable archi-pecially for a front, a turret, and for archwork, that it surpasseth all other burses. It is built quadrangular, with a large court, wherein



SIR T. GRESHAM.

Ward, so called market, antiently chief ornament Royal Exchange the Burse, was 1566, and burnt years after. It cost and charges Gresham, a noble by special com-Elizabeth pro-named the Royal was built most was the most (all things con-then in Europe, ing whereof, the chants was kept After the dread-built mostly with curious and ad- checture, espe- cially for a front, a turret, and for archwork, that it surpasseth all other burses. It is built quadrangular, with a large court, wherein

the merchants may assemble, and the greatest part, in case of rain, and hot sun-shine, may be sheltered in side galleries, or porticoes. The whole fabric cost above £50,000. whereof one half is disbursed by the chamber of London, or corporation of the City, and the other half by the company of Mercers; and to reimburse, there are to be let to hire 190 shops above stairs, at the rent of £20. each, and £30. for fine; besides several shops below on the east and west sides, and large vaults and cellars underneath, which yield considerable rents, so that it is the richest piece of ground perhaps in the whole world, for according to exact dimensions, the ground whereon this goodly fabric is erected, is but 171 feet from north to south, and 203 feet, from east to west, so that is but very little more than three quarters of an acre of ground, and will produce £4000. yearly Rent. This Ward of Cornhill begins at the west end of Leadenhall, and so down to Finch Lane on one side, and Birchin Lane on the other; half of which is in this Ward, and so to the Stock's Market. In this Ward is the church of St. Peter's, Cornhill, which is accounted the eldest church in London, and the church of St. Michael, both which, as likewise all, or the greatest part of this Ward, was burnt down by the lamentable fire, but are since nobly rebuilt, as well as the rest of the streets. St. Michael's church had ten bells formerly; and John Stow gives this account thereof, "I have heard my father say, said he, that upon St. James's night, certain men ringing the bells in the loft, a tempest of thunder and lightning did arise, and a thing of an ugly shape was seen come in at the south window, which lighted on the north, for fear whereof all the ringers fell down, and lay as dead for a time, letting the bells ring and cease of their own accord; when the ringers came to themselves, they found certain stones of the north window to be raised, and scratched, as if they had been so much butter printed with a lion's claw; the same stones were fastened there again when it was repaired, and remain so to this day. He adds, that one William Rus, or Rous, gave a bell to this church, to be rung nightly at eight o'clock, and for knells and peels, which was rung by one man for 160 years together. In this Ward there is an alderman, his deputy, five common council men, four constables, four scavengers, sixteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

8. Langbourn Ward, so called of a long bourn of water coming out of Fenchurch Street, and running down to the end of St. Mary Woolnoth church in Lombard Street, and from thence dividing into small streams, left the name of Sherbourn Lane. In this Ward is Fenchurch Street, Lombard Street, half Lime Street, half Birchin Lane down to St.

Clement's Lane, down to St. Clement's Church, St. Nicholas Lane beyond St. Nicholas Church, Abchurch Lane, and part of Bearbinder Lane. In this ward was formerly a church in the middle of Fenchurch Street, called St. Gabriel's, but quite taken away since the late fire; likewise St. Dionis Backchurch, Alhallows Lombard Street, St. Edmund Lombard Street, St. Nicholas Acons, and St. Mary Woolnoth Church. Thus have you six parish churches in this Ward, one hall of a company, that is Pewterer's Hall in Lime Street; there is an alderman, his deputy, and nine common council; fifteen constables, nine scavengers, seventeen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle, in this Ward. The common post-office is kept in Sir Robert Vyner's house in this Ward; most of which was burnt down and all the churches, some whereof are rebuilt and others designed to be so.

9. Belin's-gate Ward, in which there is part of Thames Street, Rood Lane, Pudding Lane; Love Lane, Buttolph Lane, St. Margaret Pattons Lane; and in this Ward there is the famous wharf at Belin's-gate; Somers Key, Boss Alley, St. Mary Hill Lane; there were likewise these five churches therein, St. Buttolph Billingsgate, St. Mary Hill church, St. Margaret Pattons, St. Andrew Hubbert, and St. George Buttolphs Lane. This Ward was all burnt down in 1666, but now rebuilt, with most of the churches; in this Ward there is an alderman, his deputy, and nine common council men; eleven constables, six scavengers; fourteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

10. Bridge Ward within; (so called from London Bridge) begins at the south end thereof, and comes over the bridge up Fish Street hill to the north corner of Gracechurch. In which there were these four churches, St. Magnus at the bridge foot, St. Margarets new Fish Street, St. Leonard East Cheap, and St. Bennet Gracechurch; all those churches, and all the Ward except part of London Bridge was burnt down by the fire; some of which are rebuilt, but upon the place where St. Margaret's church stood, there is erected in pursuance of act of Parliament, a pillar in perpetual memory of the dreadful fire in 1666, which first began in Pudding Lane behind that church; this monument is built after the Dorick order, one hundred and seventy feet high, all of solid Portland sone, with a staircase in the middle of stone, and coped with iron, with an iron balcony on the top, not unlike those two ancient white pillars at Rome, erected in honor of those two excellent Emperors, Trajan and Antoninus, which though they were built above one thousand five hundred years ago, are still standing entire; the pedestal of this pillar is forty-three feet square.

In the Bridge Ward are an alderman, his deputy, and fourteen common council men, fifteen constables, six scavengers, sixteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

11. Candlewick Ward, which begins at the east end of great East Cheap, in Banning Street, and so to the north end thereof, and from thence to the west end of St. Laurence church-yard, part of St. Clements Lane, most part of St. Nicholas Lane, almost all Abchurch Lane, and most part of St. Martins Lane are in this Ward. It was wholly burnt down in 1666, but very handsomely rebuilt; there were five churches, that is, St. Clements East Cheap, St. Mary Abchurch, St. Michael Crooked Lane (where was the monument of Sir William Walworth Lord Mayor, who killed Wat Tyler) St. Martins Orgar and St. Laurence Poultney, which were all burnt down, and none of them as yet rebuilt. This Ward hath an alderman, his deputy, and seven common council men, eight constables, six scavengers; twelve of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

12. Walbrook Ward, which begins at the west end of Cannon Street by Budge Row, where is St. Swithin's Lane, Walbrook, the Stock-market, four or five houses in Lombard Street, Bearbinder Lane, and part of Bucklers Bury. This Ward was wholly destroyed by fire, 1666, and therein six churches, that is St. Swithens in Cannon Street, St. Mary Woolchurch, St. Stephens Walbrook, St. John Evangelist, at St. Mary Bothaw; St. Swithing, and St. Stephens Walbrook, are handsomely rebuilt, but St. Mary Woolchurch, and Stock-market are pulled down, and made a very handsome market place, in the front whereof toward the street is a conduit, and a statue of King Charles the II. on horseback placed thereon with a Turk or enemy under his feet; which was erected at the charge of Sir Robert Vyner; this Ward hath an alderman, his deputy, and seven common council men, nine constables, six scavengers, thirteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle. In this Ward is Salter's Hall.

13. Dowgate Ward, which begins at the south end of Walbrook Ward over against the east corner of St. John Baptist's church, and so goes on both sides the way to Dowgate on the Thames, wherein there are Elbow Lane, Chequer Alley, Fryer Lane, Grantham Lane, the Stilyard, Church Lane, Alhallows Lane, Cole Harbour, Ebgate Lane, Bush Lane, and Suffolk Lane. This Ward was wholly consumed by fire, and in it these three churches, Alhallows the Great, Alhallows the Less, and St. Laurence Poultney, the first of which is again rebuilt; in this ward there are five halls, that is, Skinners, Dyers, Tallow-Chandlers, Inn-holders, and Joiners, and likewise

Merchant Taylor's School. It hath an alderman, his deputy, and five common council men, eight constables, five scavengers, fourteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

14. Vintry Ward, which stretcheth from the Vintry north to Tower Royal, in which are Stodies Lane, Cranes Lane, Church Lane, and divers others. This Ward was also utterly consumed by the fire, and therein these four churches, St. Michael Royal, St. Thomas Apostles, St. Martin's Vintry, and St. James Garlick Hithe, the first only is rebuilt as yet. This Ward hath an alderman, deputy and nine common council men, nine constables, four scavengers, fourteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle. In which were five halls, Vintners, Cutlers, Fruiterers, Plumbers, and Parish Clerks.

15. Cordwainers Ward, wherein there are Budge Row, Turnbase Lane, part of Wingmen Lane, Cordwainer Street, Bow Lane, Basing Lane, and St. Syths Lane, the south end of Neelders Lane, the south end of Soper Lane, part of Bow Lane, and Watling Street. This Ward was quite burnt down in 1666, and therein these three churches, St. Antholines, Aldermay Church, and St. Mary-le-Bow, the last of which is rebuilt with a magnificent steeple, and the other two rebuilding. This Ward hath an alderman, his deputy, and eight common council men, eight constables, eight scavengers, fourteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

16. Cheapside Ward, wherein is the Poultry, and the Compter, Coney-hoop Lane, part of the Old Jewry, Bucklers-bury, Neelders Lane, part of Soper Lane, now called Queen Street, Ironmonger Lane, and Cateaton Street. This Ward likewise was utterly consumed by the fire, and therein these seven churches, St. Mildred Poultry, St. Mary Cole-Church, St. Bennet Sherehog, St. Pancras Soper Lane, St. Martins Ironmonger Lane, St. Laurence Jury, and Guildhall Chapel are since finely rebuilt, as well as the rest of the ward. This Ward hath an alderman, deputy, and eleven common council men, eleven constables, nine scavengers, twelve of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle; and two halls, Grocer's and Mercer's.

17. Coleman Street Ward, wherein is part of the Old Jewry, Lothbury, Coleman Street, and the alleys thereabout; it was in part consumed by the fire, together with these three churches, St. Margarets Lothbury, St. Stephens Coleman Street, and St. Olaves Church, the two last of which are rebuilt, with the rest of the ward; in which are two halls, Armourers and Founders. It hath an alderman, his deputy, and five common council men; four constables, four scavengers, thirteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

18. Bassishaw, or Basing-hall Ward, wherein are Basing-hall Street, part of London Wall, and several other alleys; it was mostly burnt down in 1666, and therein Basing-hall, and the church of St. Michael Bassishaw. It had likewise these following halls therein, Coopers, Masons, Weavers, and Girdlers; there are an alderman, his deputy, and four common council men, two constables, two scavengers, seventeen wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

19. Cripplegate Ward, wherein are these streets, Aldermanbury, Milk Street, Gayspur Lane, part of West-cheap, Love Lane, Lad Lane, Wood Street, Addle Street, Philip Lane, Huggen Lane, Maiden Lane, the east end of Guthorn Lane, Staining Lane, Silver Street, the north end of Mugwell Street; these were the bounds within the walls; without are More Lane with all the alleys, little Morefields, more than half Grub Street, White-cross Street, to Beech Lane, Red-cross Street, with part of Golden Lane and Barbican, more than half thereof toward Aldersgate, Sion College, in which there was a stately library, and alms-houses for twenty-four people, founded by Dr. Thomas White; part of this ward was consumed by the fire, and amongst the rest Aldermanbury Church, St. Maudlin Milk Street, St. Alban's Wood Street, St. Michael Wood Street, but St. John and Cripplegate escaped. In this ward were Bowers and Scriveners Hall. This ward is of great extent, and is divided into Cripplegate within and without; within it hath an alderman, his deputy, and eight common council men, nine constables, twelve scavengers, fifteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle; without the gate it hath a deputy, and three common council men, four constables, four scavengers, seventeen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

20. Aldersgate Ward, wherein are contained Lillypot Street, the west side of Guthorns Lane, Cary Lane, St. Martins, Aldersgate Street without the gate, and Little Britain; some part of this ward was also burnt by the fire, and likewise the churches of St. John Zachary, St. Olave Silver Street, St. Ann Aldersgate, and St. Mary Stayning; but St. Buttolph's without the gate escaped. There are in this ward, Peterhouse, now the seat of the Lord Bishop of London, Thanet House, now inhabited by the Lord Shaftsbury, and Goldsmith's Hall. This ward hath an alderman, his deputy, four common council men without the gate; and within eight constables, nine scavengers, fourteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

21. Farringdon Ward within, wherein are contained Foster Lane, Mugwel Street, Pentecost Lane, Butcherhall Lane, the west side of Friday Street, the Old Change, the north church-yard of St. Paul's,

St. Paul's School, Paternoster Row, the west side of Ave-Maria Lane, Creed Lane, Blackfriars, Panier Alley, Ivy Lane, Blowbladder Street, Newgate Market, and Newgate Street. This ward for the greatest part laid waste in 1666, and therein the Churches of St. Peter's Cheap at Wood Street Corner, St. Foster's in Foster Lane, Christ Church and Hospital, St. Matthew's Friday Street, St. Austin's in Watling Street, St. Martin's Ludgate, St. Ann Blackfriars, St. Faith's under St. Paul's, and St. Paul's Church itself. St. Paul's is the only cathedral of that name in Christendom, seated upon the highest part of all the City, and was more conspicuous perhaps than any cathedral church in the world; it was a structure for length, height, and antiquity, surpassing all other churches, the length thereof was six-hundred and ninety feet, (therein excelling by twenty feet, St. Peter's Church in Rome, which for beauty, proportion, and divers other things excels all other temples,) it was in height one hundred and two feet, and in breadth one hundred and thirty. This church was built (as other cathedrals) in a perfect cross, and in the midst of the cross upon mighty high arches, was a tower or steeple of stone, three hundred and sixty feet high, and on that a spire of timber covered with lead, in height two hundred and sixty feet more, in all from the ground five hundred and twenty feet, above which was a ball of copper gilt of nine feet in compass, whereon stood the cross fifteen feet and a half high, and almost six feet across, made of oak, covered with lead, and another cover of copper over the lead, above all stood the eagle or cock, of copper gilt, four feet long, and the breadth over the wings three feet and a half. In the year 1561, part of this magnificent pile was much wasted, and the rest endangered by a fire begun in that stately timber spire, by the negligence of a Plumber, who left his pan of fire there while he went to dinner, as he confessed of later years on his death-bed; this was then repaired in the space of five years; but afterward Archbishop Laud much repaired it with Portland stone in 1640. It was again ruined by the late dreadful fire, 1666, and a foundation is now laid again for rebuilding it in a very noble and sumptuous manner. In this ward of Farringdon, were the halls of several companies, as Embroiderers, Sadlers, Barber-Chirurgeons, Butchers, Stationers, and likewise the College of Physicians in Warwick Lane. It hath an alderman, deputy, and fourteen common council men, seventeen constables, eighteen scavengers, eighteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

22. Broad Street Ward, wherein are Broad Street, the east part of Friday Street, Watling Street, part of Knight-Rider Street, and

Distaff Lane. This ward was wholly laid waste by the fire, and therein the Churches of Alhallows Bread Street, St. John Evangelist, and St. Margaret Moses; there were therein Cordwainers Hall, Salters Hall, Gerards Hall, and the Compter, anciently kept in Bread Street. This ward hath an alderman, his deputy, and eleven common council men, ten constables, eight scavengers, thirteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

23. **Queen Hythe Ward**, which comprehends Trinity Lane, Breadstreet Hill, Fyfoot Lane, Desbourn Lane, Little Trinity Lane, Old Fish Street, Lambert Hill, Pyel Lane, Townsend Lane, Queen Hythe, Salt Wharf, Stew Lane, Broof Wharf, Broken Wharf, Trig Lane, and Bull Wharf. The whole ward was consumed in 1666, and therein these churches, Trinity Church; St. Nicholas Cole-Abbey, St. Nicholas Olaves, St. Maudlin's Old Fish Street, St. Mary Mounthaw, St. Mary Somerset, St. Michael Queen Hythe, and St. Peter's Paul's Wharf. This ward hath an alderman, his deputy, and six common council men, nine constables, eight scavengers, thirteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle. In it is Painter Stainers Hall.

24. **Castle Baynard Ward**, containing part of Creed Lane, the east part of Ave-Maria Lane, part of Paternoster Row, the east side of Warwick Lane, Peter's Hill Lane, Paul's Wharf, Addle Hill, Carter Lane, Dolittle Lane, Sermon Lane, St. Paul's Chain, and part of the south church-yard, St. Peter's Paul's Wharf, and Baynard's Castle. This ward was wholly burnt down by the fire, and therein Baynard's Castle, St. Bennet's Church near Paul's Wharf, St. Andrew Wardrobe, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Gregory's by St. Paul's. This ward hath an alderman, his deputy, and nine common council men, ten constables, seven scavengers, fourteen of the wardmote inquest, and a beadle.

25. **Farringdon Ward Without**, which is very large, and contains Giltspur Street, Pye Corner, Cock Lane, Holborn Conduit, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Duck Lane, St. Bartholomew's Close, part of Long Lane, part of Chick Lane, Smithfield, Cow Lane, Snow Hill, to the Bishop of Ely's House, Furnival's Inn, Staples Inn, Bernard's Inn, Fetter Lane, Thavies Inn, Shoe Lane, the Churches of St. Sepulchre's, and St. Andrew's Holborn, the Old Bailey where the sessions are kept for London and Middlesex, Fleet River, Holborn Bridge, the streets on each side, the Fleet Prison, Fleet Lane, St. Dunstan's Church in the West, Clifford's Inn, the south end of Chancery Lane, Serjeants Inn, even to the rolls of liberty, Jackanapes Lane, part of Sheer Lane, the two Temples, White Fiars, Water

Lane, Salisbury Court, St. Bride's Church, Bridewell Lane, and Bridewell. There was some part of this ward burnt by the fire, and also Newgate. This ward hath an alderman, deputy, and sixteen common council men, fourteen constables, fifteen scavengers, forty-four of the wardmote inquest, and three beadles.

26. Bridge Ward without, which contains long Southwark, St. George's Church, St. Olave's Church and Street, Barnaby Street, Kent Street, Blackman Street, St. Mary Overy's, formerly a priory of Canon Regulars, St. Thomas Church and Hospital for the sick and lame, the lock a Lazer House in Kent Street, in which there were five prisons, the Clink, the Compter, the Marshalsea, the King's Bench, the White Lion; here was Winchester House, Battle Bridge, the Bridge House and Bermondsey Abbey. This borough of Southwark hath an alderman, three deputies, a bailiff, no common council men, sixteen constables, six scavengers, and twenty of the wardmote inquest.

Every ward hath a peculiar Alderman, as an overseer or guardian assigned thereunto, who hath a greater latitude of power than any ordinary justice of peace.

The Inns of Court and Chancery, Colleges, Schools and Hospitals in and about the City of London.

THE famous City of London may not unfitly be stiled an University, for therein are taught all liberal arts, and sciences, for not only Divinity, Civil Law and Physic, (which are usually in Universities) are read here, but also the municipal or Common Law of the nation is here taught, and other degrees taken therein, which can be said in no other nation; moreover all sorts of languages, and geography, hydrography, the arts of navigation and fortification, anatomy, chirurgery, chemistry, calligraphy, brachygraphy, or short-hand; the arts of riding, fencing, dancing, art military, fire-works, limning, painting, enamelling, sculpture, architecture, heraldry, all sorts of music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, grammer, rhetoric, poetry, and any other thing that may any way contribute to accomplishment of an ingenuous nobleman, or gentleman.

The colleges of municipal or common law, professors and students are fourteen, and are still called Inns, the old English word for the noblemen or bishops. There are two Inns of Sergeants, four Inns of Court, and eight Inns of Chancery; the Inns of Chancery were probably so named because there dwelt such clerks as did chiefly study the forming of writs; the names of those are Thavies Inn, begun in the reign of Edward III. and since purchased by Lincoln Inn, as was also Furnivals Inn; then there is Bernards Inn, New Inn, Clements Inn, Cliffords Inn, anciently the house of the Lord Clifford; Staple Inn, belonging to the merchants of the Staple, and Lions Inn, anciently the common Inn with the sign of the Lion. These were heretofore preparatory colleges for young students, and many were entered here before admitted into the Inns of Court; now they are for the most part taken up by attorneys, solicitors, and clerks, who have their chambers apart, and their diet at a very easy rate in an hall together, where they are obliged to appear in grave long robes, and black round knit caps. These colleges belong all to some Inns of Court, who send yearly some of their barristers to read to these. In these Inns of Chancery one with another, may be about threescore persons.

The Inns of court were so named (as some think) because the students therein are to serve the Courts of Judicature, of these there are four. First, the two Temples, heretofore the dwelling of the Knights Templers and purchased by some professors of the Common Law, above three hundred years ago. They are called the Inner, and Middle Temple in relation to Essex house, which was a part of the Knights Templers, and called the Utter or Outer Temple because it is seated without Temple Bar; the two other Inns of Court are Lincolns Inn, and Greys Inn, belonging to the noble family of the Greys; in the reign of King Henry VI. they so flourished that they were in each of these above two hundred students.

These societies are no corporations nor have any judicial power over their members, but have certain orders among themselves, which have by consent the force of laws; for lighter offences they are only excommunicated or put out of commons, nor to eat with the rest, and for greater offences they lose their chambers; there are no lands or revenues belonging to any of these societies, nor have they any thing for defraying the charges of the house, but what is paid at admittances, and quit rents for their chambers; the whole company in each society may be divided into four parts, Benchers, Utter Barristers, Inner Barristers and Students. In the four Inns of Court there are now reckoned eight hundred students. There are two more colleges called Sergeants Inn,

where the Common Law student, when he hath arrived to the highest degree, hath his lodging and diet, and are as doctors in the civil law, out of these are chosen a judge of the King's Bench, and common-pleas.

There are likewise several colleges in and about this city, as the college of Civilians called Doctors Commons, near St. Paul's, for the professors of the Civil Law in this city, and where commonly the judges of the antios, Admiralty and prerogative court reside, whose office is not far off, and judgeth the estates fallen by will, or by intestures, and is under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

There is also the college of Physicians curiously built in Warwick Lane; and likewise a college of Heralds, that is, of such as are to be messengers of war and peace, and are skilful in descents pedigrees, and coats of armories.

Gresham College in Bishopsgate Street is another, built by Sir Thomas Gresham, and a revenue left to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for maintaining four able persons to read within this college, divinity, geometry, astronomy, and music, with an allowance to each of them (besides fair lodgings) of fifty pounds a year; and other rents are left to the Mercer's company to find three able men more, to read Civil Law, Physic, and Rhetoric, with the same allowance; these several lectures should be read in term time, every day in the week except Sundays, beginning at nine in the morning, and at two in the afternoon, to give notice whereof, the bell in the steeple of the Royal Exchange rings at those times; they are read in the forenoon, in Latin, and in the afternoon in English. The music lecture to be read only in English.

There is also within London, another college, called Sion College, aforementioned, founded by Dr. White, near Cripplegate, for the use of the clergy of London, and of the liberties thereof, and some alms-houses for twenty poor people; to perform all which he gave £3000. and for the maintenance of these poor people £120. a year for ever, and £40. a year for a sermon in Latin at the beginning of every quarter, and a plentiful dinner for all the clergy that shall then meet there. In this College is a fair spacious library, built by John Symson, which hath been well furnished with books, chiefly for divines. This college felt the rage of the late fire, but is since rebuilt. A little without the walls stands another college, or college house called the Charter House, it being formerly a convent of Carthusian Monks. This college, called also Sutton's Hospital, consist of a master or governor, a chaplain, a master and usher to instruct forty-four scho-

lars, besides eighty decayed gentlemen, soldiers, and merchants, who have all a plentiful maintenance of diet, lodging, clothes, physic, &c. and live altogether in a collegiate manner with much cleanliness and neatness, and the forty-four scholars have not only all necessities whilst they are taught here, but if they become fit for the Universities, there is allowed to each one, out of the yearly revenues of this college, £20. yearly, and duly paid for eight years after they come to the University; and to others fit for trades there is allowed a considerable sum of money to bind them apprentices. There is likewise all sorts of officers fit for such a society, as physician, apothecary, steward, cook, butler, &c. who have all competent salaries. This vast revenue and princely foundation was the sole gift of an ordinary gentleman, Mr. Thomas Sutton, born in Lincolnshire, and it was of such high account as it was thought fit by the King's letters patent under the great seal, divers persons of the highest dignity and quality, in church and state, should always be the overseers, and regulators of this society, as the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper, or Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer and 13 more.

There are likewise in London, divers public schools, endowed, as St. Paul's free school, founded by Dr. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, for 153 children to be taught there for nothing; for which was appointed a master, a sub-master, or usher, and a chaplain, with large stipends for ever to be paid by the Mercer's company. This famous school was also burnt down, but is now re-edified in a more magnificent and commodious manner.

In 1553, after the erecting of Christ's Hospital, out of the ruins of the Grey Friars, a great number of poor children was taken in, and a school appointed at the charge of the city. There are in London divers other endowed, or free schools, as the Merchant Taylors, Mercers Chapel, &c.

There are likewise several famous hospitals in this city, as Christ's Hospital, aforesaid, given by King Edward VI. from whence according to the report made at Easter in 1681, there were seventy-six children put forth apprentices last year, ten of them being instructed in the arts of arithmetic and navigation, were placed with commanders of ships, out of the mathematical school, lately founded for the benefit of this kingdom, by his present Majesty King Charles II. And there are now remaining under the care and charge of that hospital, 547 children. There is St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in which according to the former report, there have been cured this half year, 1578 wounded,

sick, and maimed soldiers and seamen ; and other diseased persons, who have been relieved with money and other necessaries at their departure, and there are 239 persons now remaining under cure. In St. Thomas's Hospital, in Southwark, of the like sick and wounded persons 1890 have been cured in this last year, and 294 are at present under cure there. In Bridewell Hospital 896 vagrants and indigent persons have been relieved, and sent home with passes to their native country last year, and 128 are now there. The Hospital of Bethlem, for curing lunatics and madmen, hath been lately removed because of the inconveniency of the place ; and a stately and magnificent one built for them in Moorfields, which has cost the house above £17000. in which there were brought this last year fifty-three distracted men and women, forty-three have last year been cured of their lunacy and discharged, and there are now remaining under cure, and provided with physic, diet, and other relief at the charge of that hospital, 110 persons.

The Strand, Westminster, and parts adjacent.

IT would too much enlarge this small volume to give an exact account of the City of Westminster, and other parts which now seem swallowed up in London ; we shall therefore only remark some particulars. Westminster was formerly called Dorney or Thorney, and was an island compassed by the Thames, overgrown with bryers and thorns, but now graced with fair stately houses and palaces, both public and private. The chief whereof are the two palaces of the King, Whitehall and St. James's, to which is adjoined a delightful park, so named, in which is a Pall Mall, said to be the best in Europe.

Then there is Westminster Hall, where several courts of justice are kept, as the high court of parliament, consisting of the King, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons. The court of King's Bench, wherein the King sometimes sits in person, in which are handled all the pleas of the crown, all things that concern loss of life or member of

any subject, for then the King is concerned, because the life and limbs of the subject belong only to the King, so that the pleas are here between the King and the subject. Here are handled all treasons, felonies, breach of the peace, oppression, mis-government, &c. in this court sit four reverend judges. Then there is the court of Common-Pleas, so called (say some) because there are debated the usual pleas between one subject and another; in this court there are likewise four judges. Next is the court of Exchequer, so called, some think, from a chequer-wrought carpet covering the great table in that court, wherein are tried all causes concerning the King's revenue. There is also another, called the court of the Duchy of Lancaster, which takes cognizance of all causes that concern the revenues of that Duchy. There is likewise the High Court of Chancery, which is placed next the King's Bench, as mitigating the rigor thereof; this court is the womb of all our fundamental laws, it is called Chancery, as some imagine, because the judge of this court sat antiently, *inter chancellos*, or within lattices, as the east end of our churches being separated *per chancellos*, from the body of the church, as peculiarly belonging to the priest were thence called *chancels*. This court proceeds to grant writs, according to equity or conscience. Out of this court issues summons for parliament, edicts, proclamations, letters patent, treaties, leagues with foreign princes, &c. There is likewise the Court of Admiralty, wherein all matters concerning the sea are determined by the Civil Law, because the sea is without the limits of the common law.

The next thing considerable in Westminster is the collegiate church called Westminster Abbey, or St. Peter's. It was raised out of the ruins of a temple formerly dedicated to Apollo; wherein there is King Henry the VIIIth chapel, a most magnificent and curious edifice; beautified with the stately tombs of the Kings and Queens of England, and many other persons of honour and renown are buried in this church; and here the Kings of England are commonly crowned.

There is Somerset House, a large and stately structure, belonging to the King. Wallingford House, the seat of the Earl of Arlington. Northumberland House, York House, now turned into curious streets and buildings. The New Exchange, a place well-stored with variety of shops and goods. The goodly statute of King Charles the 1st. lately erected at Charing Cross. Salisbury House, belonging to the Earl of Salisbury, who has likewise built an Exchange near it. Worcester House, Exeter Exchange, the Savoy, Arundel House, Bedford House,

Clarendon House, and divers other palaces worthy of observation. The limits of Westminster end at Temple Bar, and there the bounds of London begin.

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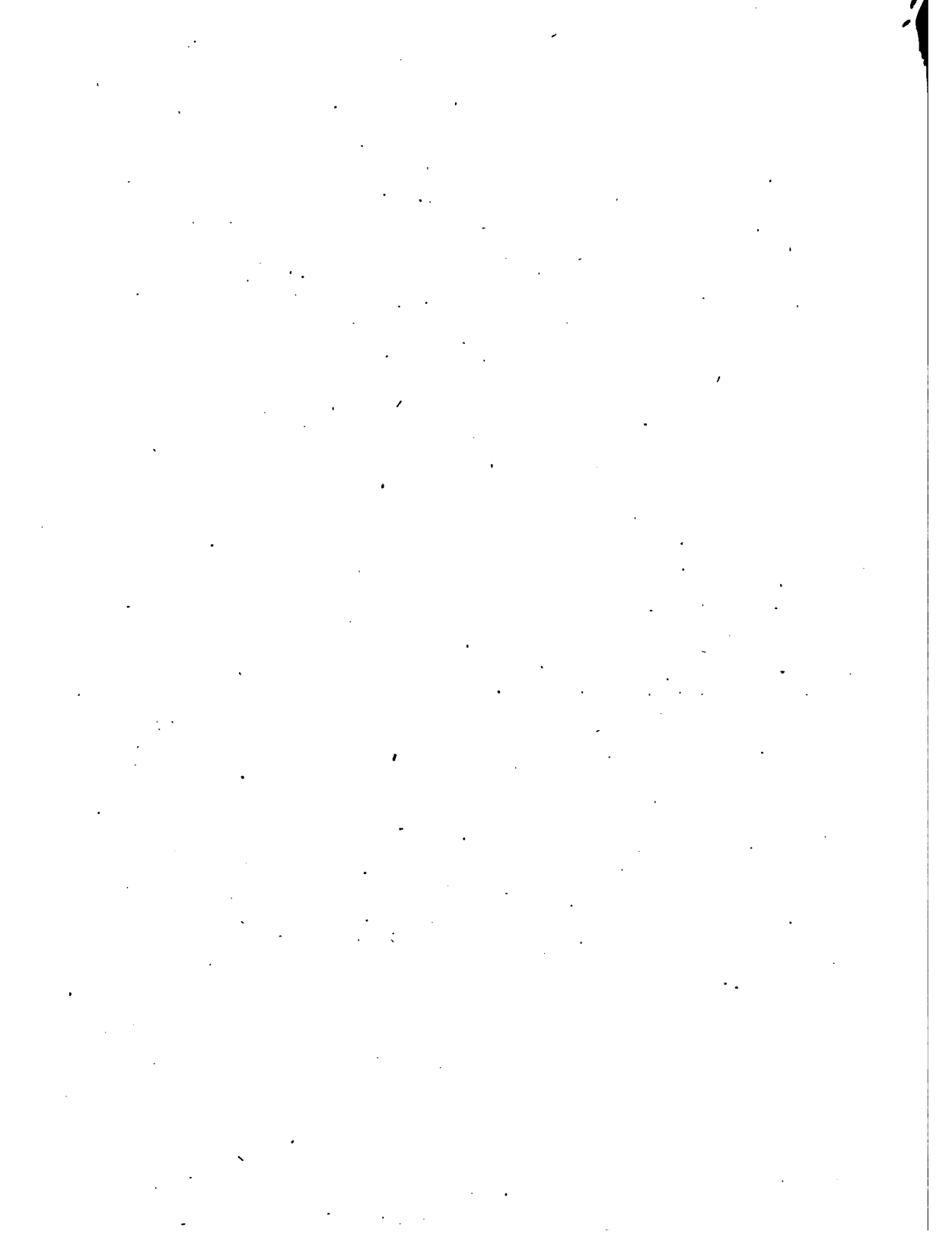


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F E N I S .





Byfield, Sc.

CHARLES THE FIRST.

THE
W A R S
IN
England, Scotland and Ireland,
OR
AN IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT
OF ALL THE
Battles, Sieges, and other remarkable Transactions,
Revolutions and Accidents,
WHICH HAPPENED FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF
KING CHARLES I.
IN 1625, TO THE RESTORATION OF KING CHARLES II. IN 1660.

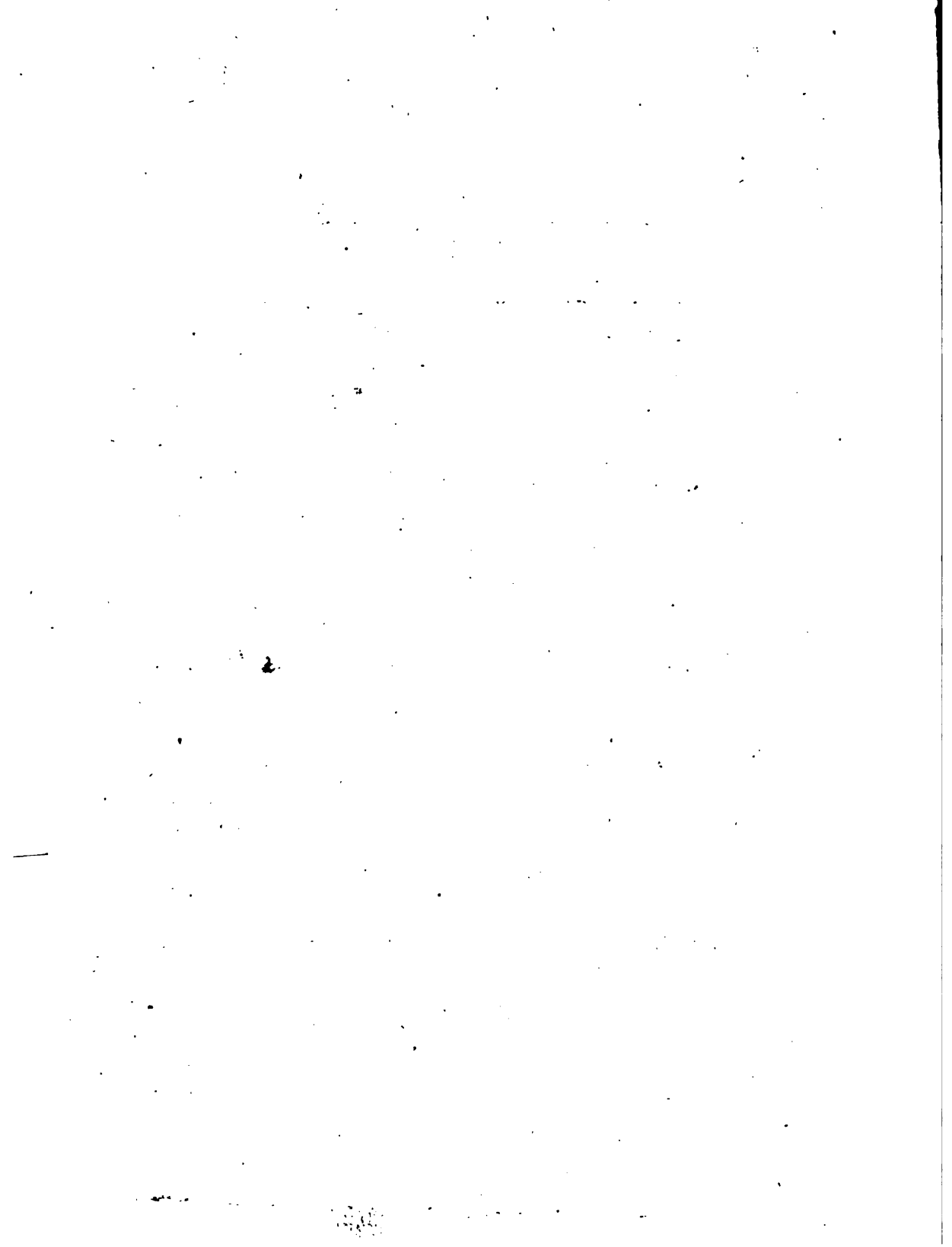
~~~~~  
BY RICHARD BURTON.

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A NEW EDITION,
WITH ADDITIONAL WOOD-CUT PORTRAITS, AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

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WESTMINSTER:
PRINTED FOR
MACHELL STACE, No. 5, MIDDLE SCOTLAND YARD,
By George Smeaton, St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross.

1810.



TO THE READER.

THIS small Volume is intended for the use of those who cannot go to the price of a greater : and yet would willingly be informed of those wonderful transactions and revolutions which have happened in these three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in this last age, and within the memory of many now living : and though it cannot be expected that a large account of every particular accident can be comprehended in this little Compendium, yet I have endeavoured, without the least passion or partiality, briefly to comprise the most considerable matters.

Now as the things here inserted are more remarkable, both for their variety and quality, than it may be ever happened at any time heretofore in so short a space ; so the serious perusal and consideration thereof may be very useful and necessary for quieting the present discontents and deplorable distractions that are now amongst us ; since these were the forerunners of those miserable wars, ruins, and desolations which are herein related ; wherein all bonds of religion, alliance and friendship were utterly destroyed. Wherein fathers and children, kindred and acquaintance, became unnatural enemies to each other ; so that with some little variation we may apply what LUCAN writes of the civil wars of Rome to England in those times.

Wars more than civil on the British plains
Then happened ; and England distains.
In her own bowels her victorious swords ;
Where kindred hosts encounter, all accords
Of empire broke, where arm'd to impious war,
The strength of all the shaken land from far
Is met, known ensigns, ensigns to defy,
Fathers by sons, and sons by fathers die.

What fury country-men, what madness, cou'd
Move you to feast your foes with English blood,
And chuse such wars as could no triumphs yield?
Whilst yet proud Babylon unconquer'd held.
Alas! what seas, what lands might you have ta'en,
With that blood's loss which your own hands have drawn?

Let us all therefore who pretend to the name of Christians, study to be quiet, and follow peace with all men; which is the most effectual means to prevent those confusions and miseries which we have lately suffered, and under the effects whereof we still groan: and that this short narrative may be useful to this purpose, is the earnest and hearty desire of

Your countryman and well wisher,

RICHARD BURTON.*

It is very much doubted whether any such person as RICHARD BURTON edited the many books attributed to him, but that the editor and publisher was the same person, as appears from Dunton's remarks, in his character of Nathaniel Crouch, who published the first editions of Burton's works.—“ Mr. NATHANIEL CROUCH, I think I have given you the very soul of his character, when I have told you that his talent lies at collection. He has melted down the best of our English Histories into Twelve-Penny-Books, which are filled with *wonders*, *rarities*, and *curiosities*, for you must know, his title pages are a little swelling. I have a hearty friendship for him, but he has got a habit of leering under his hat, and once made it a great part of his business, to bring down the reputation of Second Spira.”

Life of John Dunton, p. 282. Edit. 1705.

THE W A R S IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, IRELAND, &c.



BEFORE we proceed to give an account of those unnatural wars, ruins, and devastations, which have happened in these kingdoms in this last age, it may seem necessary, by way of introduction, to give a relation of several previous transactions before these woeful calamities befel us.

Upon the 27th day of March, in the year 1625, King James departed this life at Theobalds, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, when he had reigned twenty-two years compleat: and in the afternoon of the same day Charles Prince of Wales, his only son then living, was proclaimed King of Great Britain, France and Ireland.

The first thing he did, was performing the ceremonies of his father's funeral, in which the King himself in person followed as chief mourner immediately after the hearse; having his train of black velvet born up by the twelve peers of the realm; at his right hand the Earl of Arundel, and at his left the Earl of Pembroke. He then proceeded to his coronation, and after that he consummated the marriage with Henrietta Maria, younger daughter of the Great Henry the Fourth, King of France, whom he had formerly seen in his journey through that country into Spain; his first compliment to her, when he went to meet her at Dover, was, 'That he desired to be no longer master of himself, then he was servant to her;' which indeed he made good: for on the day before his deplorable death, he desired his daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, to assure her mother, if ever she saw her again, 'That his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his affections should be the same to the last.'

The King then called a parliament, which assembled the 18th of June following, to whom he represented in a short speech, 'The urgent necessity of raising a subsidy, since it would not agree with his kingly honour to shrink from the war with Spain, which his father upon solid considerations had by consent of both houses undertaken; although prevented by death from putting it in execution: that money, the sinews of war, must be levied, without which neither army nor fleet could move; former contributions being already disbursed to a penny: That he should seem ridiculous to all Europe, if he did not now at length proceed to action: That it was his first enterprize, the success whereof would have great influence upon his following reign: That it concerned their own reputations herein to assist him effectually, least the world should judge them to have betrayed their king: That celerity was necessary because of winter then approaching, a season prejudicial to martial attempts: the pestilence at that time reigning in the city, which in all probability might cause a sudden dissolution of their meeting: all which arguments, if duly considered, did evidently demonstrate, that it was most honorable, opportune and safe, to use expedition in the business. As for religion and manner of government, he was resolved to tread in his father's steps, hoping that his former life had ministered no just grounds for them to suspect the contrary.'

The Parliament acknowledged these arguments for a subsidy to be very rational, but yet would not suddenly resolve upon it, till they had first presented their two petitions, concerning reasons of religion and complaint of their sufferings, which points had been offered to his father king James, in the close of his last parliament; and by his death were left hitherto unanswered.

In both which they received competent satisfaction, likewise an account of the arrears which were due to the forces both by sea and land, together with an estimate of the future charge and expence of the Spanish war; upon which the King obtained of the Laity freely and absolutely, two subsidies to be paid by protestants, and four from papists; and three subsidies from the clergy. In this parliament Dr. Montague the King's chaplain was questioned for certain tenets in his answer to a book called the Romish Gagger, and his defence thereof; intituled Appello ad Casarem: and he being brought before the Bar of the House, the Speaker declared their pleasure; That they would refer his censure till the next meeting; and in the mean time he should stand committed to the Sergeants ward, till two thousand pound bail could be procured for his appearance next sessions; and though the King

took him into protection as his servant, yet his bail-bond remained uncanceled.

Divers laws were enacted in this Parliament, as one about observation of the Lord's Day; another for restraint of tippling in inns, ale-houses, &c. There passed likewise in the House of Commons, a bill for tonnage and poundage; but this miscarried in the House of Lords because the Commons had limited it to a year, whereas it was formerly granted to the King's predecessors during their lives; it being intended to reduce the customs to the rate, at which they were settled in the reign of Queen Mary.

During the sitting of the Parliament, the Lord Mordant a papist, and his wife a protestant, being both desirous of each others conversion, they put their cause upon a dispute between James Usher L. Archbishop of Armagh, and one Rookwood, a Jesuit, who called himself Beaumont; this was acted at Drayton in Northamptonshire, the points disputed on were, Transubstantiation, praying to Saints, Images, and the visibility of the Church; wherein the learned Primate so foiled his adversary, that the Lord Mordant was convinced and converted to the Protestant religion, and his lady further confirmed therein.

On the eleventh of July, 1626, the Parliament by reason of the sickness, adjourned till August 1st. and then met again at Oxford, where the King first by himself, and next by his two secretaries, the Lord Conway and Sir John Cook, declared to them the necessity of setting forth a fleet, for the recovery of the Palatinate, which was the country of the Prince Palatine of the Rhyne, who married the King's sister, and was then unjustly detained from him by the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Spain; the Lord Treasurer likewise instanced several sums of money, which King James died indebted to the City of London.

This occasioned very warm debates in the house of Commons, who alledged, that evil counsels guided the king's designs; that the treasury was misemployed, that our necessities arose through providence: that it would be necessary to petition the king for a stricter hand and better counsel to manage his affairs: that though a former parliament engaged the king in a war, yet if things were managed with contrary designs; and the treasure misemployed, this parliament was not bound to be carried blindfold in designs, not guided by sound council: it was not usual to grant subsidies upon subsidies in one parliament, and no grievances redressed. With several other passages of the like nature.

They likewise very much reflected upon the miscarriage of the duke of Buckingham, who was then a person of very considerable trust: but however they promised to consider of the king's desires, and presented him a petition against Popish recusants giving an account of their damage, ascribing certain causes of their growth, and offering divers remedies thereunto; unto which a satisfactory answer (if any thing would have satisfied) was returned: and hereupon there followed a debate about supplies; some were for contributing presently, others demurr'd, as disliking the design in hand; and in conclusion the major part agreed not to give: and being incensed against the duke of Buckingham, they began to think of divesting him of his offices, and to require an account of the publick monies wherewith he had been intrusted, all which they intended to include in an humble remonstrance: to prevent which, the king resolved to dissolve the parliament; and accordingly the Usher of the Black Rod was sent from the house of Lords to the Commons, who were then resolved into a grand committee; and understanding the king's pleasure, they caused the Speaker to keep his seat, while they agreed upon a message of thanks to his Majesty for his gracious answer to their petition for religion, and for his care of their health, in giving them leave to depart this dangerous time of sickness; with a dutiful declaration of their affection and loyalty, and of their purposing to supply him in a parliamentary way, in fit and convenient time: after which they were accordingly dissolved.

Now the war with Spain being intended both for the recovery of the Palatinate, and to prevent disturbance in our civil estate, the council hereupon resolve with all speed to set forth a fleet, and to preserve strict unity and peace with France, Denmark and the united Provinces; and with the Hollanders the king had already entered into a league offensive and defensive against the house of Austria, and likewise had promised to assist them in soliciting other princes to enter into the same Confederation, upon condition that they should bear a fourth part of the charge of the fleet; and in pursuance hereof, the duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Holland were sent to the Hague, and there meeting with the ambassadors of France and Denmark, they concluded a league for restoring the liberties of Germany; the two last ambassadors having no further power from their supreams.

Awile after the dissolution of the Parliament, the king published a Proclamation, commanding the return of all children of Noblemen, which had been sent to be educated in seminaries and Popish

schools beyond sea; that none who had received orders from Rome, should presume to confer orders, or exercise ecclesiastical functions in any of his dominions; and likewise that the statute be put in execution for the departure of priests and jesuits, out of his Majesty's dominions.

By reason of the dissolving the Parliament, the Act of subsidies was prevented, and the King was necessitated to take up money upon loan of such persons as were of ability to lend; and to that end he directed his letters to the Lord Lieutenants of the several Counties, to return the names of those men whom they thought most sufficient, the places of their habitations, and what sums each may be judged able to lend; and to the persons returned, letters were issued forth in the King's name to this purpose,

That his Majesty having observed in the presidents and customs of former times, That all the Kings and Queens of this Realm, upon extraordinary occasions have used either to resort to those contributions which arise from the generality of subjects or to the private helps of some well affected in particular, by way of Loan; in the former of which, as his Majesty has no doubt of the love and affection of his people, when they shall again assemble in Parliament; so for the present he was inforced to proceed to the latter course for supply of some portions of treasure for divers publick services, which without manifold inconveniences to his Majesty, and his kingdoms, cannot be deferred; and therefore this being the first time that his Majesty hath required any thing of this kind, he doubts not but he shall receive such a testimony of good affection from among them other of his subjects, and that with such alacrity and readiness as may make the same so much the more acceptable; especially since his Majesty required but the sum which few men would deny a friend, and has a mind resolved to expose all his earthly fortune for preservation of the general: The sum which his Majesty requires by these presents is——which his Majesty promiseth in the name of himself, his heirs, and successors, to repay to them or their assigns, within eighteen months after the payment thereof to the collector: The person whom his Majesty hath appointed is——to whose hands his Majesty doth require them to send it within twelve days after they have received this Privy Seal; which together with the collector's acquittance, shall be sufficient warrant to the Officers of Receipt for their payment thereof at the time limited: and the collectors of the loan were ordered to pay the sums received into the Exchequer, and to return the names of such as went about to delay or excuse the payment of the sums required.

And now about the beginning of October, the fleet set to sea, the Lord Cecil, second son to the Earl of Exeter, commanding the land forces, and the Earl of Essex being vice admiral at sea; but they were surprized by so violent a storm, that the greatest part of the navy, which in all made up four-score ships (some being Dutch) were dissipated and scattered for seven days together, and an excellent ship with 170 passengers in her were all cast away, and lost, the design was to have surprized Cadiz in Spain, to burn the ships in the harbour, and to have taken the Spanish Plate Fleet, which was daily expected from the Indies; but by reason of the plague amongst them, and some other miscarriages of the commanders, the business was wholly disappointed, and the fleet returned home but four days before the Plate fleet came.

Upon the second of February was the coronation, at which the King did not pass through the city in state from the tower, as was usual but went by water from Whitehall to Westminster, for fear of the danger of a concourse of people; the pestilence which raged the year before not being quite ceased: the Bishop of Lincoln, as Dean of Westminster, should have performed the chief part of the ceremony, but being under displeasure, Dr. Laud then bishop of St. David's, supplied his place.

Divers considerable forces had been raised both for sea and land, for the better discipline of whom 150 old Soldiers were sent for from the Netherlands, by whose industry they were brought into some good order against the meeting of the next Parliament, which was summoned to sit Feb. 6. And being met accordingly, the House of Commons chose Sir Henage Finch for their speaker.

The first business they insisted upon was the rendering thanks to the King for his gracious answer to their late petition concerning religion, then they debated of the public grievances, viz. The miscarrying of the fleet at Cadiz; the evil counsellors about the King; misemploying the King's revenue; an account of the subsidies and three fifteens, granted in the 21st year of King James: and in the Committee of grievances, these four particulars were insisted on: 1. The state of the King in the constant revenue of the Crown, and how much it had been diminished by gifts of lands, grants of pensions, fruitless embassies, the privy purse, and other ways. 2. The condition of the subject in his freedom, about laying new impositions, multiplying monopolies, levying of customs without act of Parliament, and wasting the treasure. 3. The cause of the nations good success in former times, whereby it was feared, victorious and

renowned abroad ; which they judged was occasioned by the wisdom and gravity of counsel, who ordered nothing but by public debate ; whereby there arose a readiness in the people to assist their sovereign in purse and person. 4. The present condition of the kingdom, wherein was represented the loss of its wonted reputation, through the ill success at Algier in the Palatinate, in Count Mansfield's expedition, and at Cadiz ; and this was imputed to the want of such counsels as were formerly used ; since for fear of not succeeding, men were now afraid of venturing either their persons or purses.

There was likewise a committee concerning religion and the growth of Popery, wherein Mr. Richard Montague's two books before mentioned were again questioned, and articles drawn up against him, charging him with several passages for encouraging Popery, and drawing his Majesty's subjects from the true religion established, into error and superstition, with other passages dishonourable to the late King, and full of injurious and railing language against other persons ; as likewise that he endeavoured to rase factions in the kingdom, by casting the scandalous name of Puritan, upon such of his Majesty's subjects as conformed themselves to the doctrine of the Church of England : upon which the House of Commons ordered that he should be brought to exemplary punishment, and to have his books burnt ; nor do we ever find that he made any defence or answer to those articles that were brought against him. It is affirmed that awhile before the sitting of the Parliament, Dr. Laud understanding from the D of Buckingham that the King intended to leave Mr. Montague to a trial, was heard to utter these words, I seem to see a cloud arising and threatening the Church of England, God in his mercy dissipate it.

After this the Commons questioned several persons who were of the council of war, upon the affairs of the Palatinate, concerning the management of that business : complaint was likewise made in the house, of the Scotch and Irish nobility, for claiming precedency of the peers of England, of which redress was promised ; but awhile after the Lord Martrevers, eldest son and heir to the Earl of Arundel, married the Daughter of the late Duke of Lenox, contrary to the King's mind, who intended her for the lord Lorn, son and heir of the earl of Argile ; whereupon the earl of Arundel was committed to the Tower ; whereupon the peers petitioned to the king, alledging, that no peer sitting in the Parliament, is to be imprisoned without order from the House of Lords, unless for felony, treason, or denying to give security for the peace. Upon this there arose a dispute, which lasted for the space of two months, and then the Earl was set at liberty.

In which time the House of Commons were very busy in searching the Signet Office for the original of a letter under the Signet, written to the mayor of York, for reprimanding divers Jesuites, priests, and other Popish recusants: this was reported by Mr. Pim, chairman to the committee for religion; but their proceeding therein were interrupted by a message from the King sent by Sir Richard Weston, chancellor of the Exchequer, demanding a supply for the English and Irish forces. This was so highly resented, that Mr. Clement Cook, one of the members openly protested, that it was better to die by a foreign enemy, than to be destroyed at home: and Dr. Turner another of the house, seconded him with these queries.

1. Whether the King had not lost the regality of the Narrow Seas since the D. of Buckingham was Admiral? 2. Whether his going as admiral in this last fleet, was not the cause of its ill success, and return without any considerable action? 3. Whether the king's treasure hath not been impaired by the Duke's immense liberality? 4. Whether he hath not ingrossed all offices, and preferred his kindred to most places? 5. Whether he hath not sold places of Judicature? 6. Whether Popish recusants have not dependance upon his Mother and Father-in-law.

These bold expressions so provoked the King, that he immediately sent Sir Richard Weston to demand satisfaction of the House of Commons, whereupon Dr. Turner presently after made a speech in vindication, and for explaining himself, alledging, That what he said was for the good of the kingdom; and not reflecting upon any one in particular. That to accuse upon common fame, he thought to be a parliamentary way, and warranted by the Canons of the Church, the Imperial laws, and by ancient precedents. The Duke of Suffolk in King Henry the sixth's time, having been accused upon common fame: he added likewise, That Mr. Chancellor himself had presented some persons upon particular fame, and that he knew no reason why himself might not in that place have as ample privilege; and the further debate of the matter being referred till another time, Dr. Turner in the mean space writ a letter to the Speaker to excuse his absence, by reason of some indisposition, and to signify his desire of putting himself wholly upon the judgement and censure of Parliament.

Sir William Waller, speaking his opinion concerning grievances, said, that the true cause of them, was, because, (as was said of Louis the 11th of France) all the King's Council rode upon one horse, and that therefore his Majesty was to be advised, as Moses was by Jethro, to make choice of counsellors to assist him that should be thus qualified: 1. Noble, not upstarts and of a nights growth. 2.

Men of courage, such as would execute their own places, and not commit them to undeserving deputies. 3. Fearing God, not inclining to false worship or halting between two opinions. 4. Dealing truly, not given to flattery, or favouring courtship; but such as might be safely trusted by the King and kingdom. 5. Hating covetousness, not such as lived upon other men's means, or that would take bribes, or sell places in church or state, or about the King. 6. To be many, in the multitude of Counsellors there being safety. 7. To judge of small matters as well as great (the greatest being referred to the King) much less any one Counsellor alone to manage all the business. 8. Elders, not young and inexperienced men, through whose rash and unadvised proceedings, great designs many times miscarry.

And herein he was seconded by Sir John Eliot, who represented to the House, the present state of the kingdom, and the great dishonour the King and kingdom had sustained by several miscarriages, and ill management of matters of the highest trust; he likewise mentioned two precedents, the first in the 16th year of Hen. 3. when the Parliament denied the subsidies demanded till the great officers were examined; and Hugh de Burg being found guilty of corruption was displaced. Another example was in the tenth year of Rich. 2. when supply was required, and the Commons complaining that the Earl of Suffolk then over-ruled all, they returned answer, that they could not give.

But notwithstanding these discourages, the Commons taking the King's necessities into consideration, voted three subsidies and three fifteens, and that the bill should be brought in, as soon as the grievances which were represented, were redressed. They likewise considered of the matter of the Duke of Buckingham, and misemploying the revenue; and ordered that the Duke should again have notice of their intentions therein: But the King observing that they did not make such haste as he expected, to answer his last message, summons both Houses together; and by the Lord Keeper complains to them, 'For not punishing Dr. Turner, and Mr. Cook, and likewise for searching his Signet Office, and also justified the Duke of Buckingham to have acted nothing of public employment without his special warrant, and therefore forbid them to concern themselves any further therein, as looking upon it to be libelling his own government; lastly he blamed them for being too sparing in the matter of supply, and for ordering the Bill not to be brought in till their grievances were heard and answered, which he would not

' admit of.' This was the substance of the Lord Keeper's Speech, to which the King himself added.

He must also put them in mind that his father moved by their counsel and won by their persuasions, broke the treaties; and that he himself was their instrument towards his father, and was glad to be instrumental in any thing which might please the whole body of the realm, nor was there any then in greater favour than the Duke, whom they now traduced; but that now finding him so far entangled in a war, that he could make no honourable nor safe retreat, they made necessity their privilege, and set what rate they pleased on their supplies, a practice not very obliging towards Kings: and whereas Mr. Cook told them that it was better for them to die by a foreign enemy, than to be destroyed at home: indeed he thought it more honourable for a King to be invaded, and almost destroyed by a foreign enemy, than to be despised at home.

After this at a conference of both Houses in the Painted Chamber, the Duke of Buckingham was commanded by the King, to explain some expressions in the King's and Lord Chancellor's speeches, which might be subject to misunderstanding; which the Duke performed accordingly, and then gave a large account of his negotiation in the Low Countries; as soon as the Duke had ended, the Lord Conway discoursed of the Treaties of Denmark and France, and the business of the Navy, and affirmed they were not done by a single counsel, since King James himself commanded it.

The Commons in answer to the King's last speech, presented him with a remonstrance to this purpose; that they gratefully acknowledged his Majesty's expressions of affection to his people and Parliament; That they had taken Mr. Cook's and Dr. Turner's words into consideration, and might have given a good account thereof by this time, if his Majesty's Message had not interrupted them; That they had the precedents of former parliaments for searching the letters of his Majesty and his Secretary of State, the Signet Office and other Records, upon the like occasions, that it was unquestionable privilege of Parliaments to complain of any person of any degree, and their proceedings in relation to the Duke should not prejudice either crown or kingdom: That they were willing to supply his necessities liberally and faithfully, if additions might be made of other things which concerned his service, and were now in consultation among them.

His Majesty having received it, returned this short answer thereunto, That he would have them in the first place, consult about

matters of the greatest importance, and that they should have time enough for other things afterward.

This happened in the year 1626, and in the second year of his Majesty's reign; about which time the Earl of Bristol (being ordered by the King to be examined by a committee of Lords concerning his negotiation in Spain, and having been in prison and prohibited access to His Majesty ever since his return) received a letter from the Lord Conway, wherein in order to his relief he propounded to him from His Majesty this choice, whether he would be quiet, and not be questioned for what was past, and enjoy the benefit of the late gracious pardon? or whether he would stand upon his justification? to which he answered, that he did humbly acknowledge and accept of his Majesty's grace and favour; and at the same time he petitioned the House of Lords for his liberty, or to come to a trial; who applying themselves to his Majesty, he granted a writ for the Earl's coming to Parliament, but with a proviso, that his personal attendance should be forborn; whereupon the Earl sent another petition to the Lords that he might be heard, both as to his restraint, and of what he had to say against the Duke. At which the King was much concerned, and signified to the Lords, that it was his royal pleasure, that the Earl of Bristol might be sent for as a delinquent to answer his offences to the house, and his scandalizing the Duke of Buckingham and his Majesty likewise by reflection. Upon this the Earl was accordingly brought to the bar, and being ready to be impeached of High Treason by the Attorney General, he besought their lordships, that as he was a freeman and peer of this realm untainted, and had something to say of high consequence for his Majesty's Service, he might have liberty to speak. Which being granted him, he said, I accuse that man the Duke of Buckingham, of High Treason. This unexpected procedure of the Earl, occasioned the Attorney General to draw up a charge against him, consisting of Eleven Articles containing matters of divers natures; whereupon the Earl afterwards gave a large account of the Duke of Buckingham's proceedings towards him, and then preferred Twelve Articles against him; and besides these articles against the Duke, the Earl of Bristol exhibited Eleven others against the Lord Conway: the Earl likewise gave in his answer to each particular article of his impeachment.

Now whilst these two peers were thus contesting, the House of Commons presented an Impeachment to the Lords against the Duke, consisting of Twelve Articles, to each of which the Duke made

replies, and the last of them being a matter of general discourse, it may seem necessary to insert it, with the Duke's answer thereto.

‘ That the Duke being a sworn servant of the late king did cause
 ‘ and provide certain plaisters and potions for his late Majesty K.
 ‘ James in his last sickness without the privity of his Majesty's Phy-
 ‘ sicians, and that although those plaisters and potions formerly applied,
 ‘ produced such ill effects, as many of his sworn Physicians did
 ‘ disallow as prejudicial to his Majesty's health, yet the Duke did
 ‘ apply them again to his Majesty; whereupon great distempers,
 ‘ and dangerous symptoms appeared in him, which the Physicians
 ‘ imputed to these administrations of the Duke, whereof his late
 ‘ Majesty also complained: which is an offence and misdemeanor
 ‘ of so high a nature as may be called an act of transcendent pre-
 ‘ sumption: and the said Commons by protestation, saving to them-
 ‘ selves the liberties of exhibiting hereafter any other accusation, or
 ‘ impeachment against the Duke: and also of replying unto what
 ‘ the Duke shall answer unto the said articles, do pray, that the
 ‘ said Duke may be put to answer all and every the premises, and
 ‘ that such proceedings, examinations, trials and judgments, may
 ‘ be upon every of them had as is agreeable to law and justice.’

To this article the Duke of Buckingham replied, that his late Majesty being sick of an ague, a disease out of which the Duke recovered not long before, asked the Duke what he found most advantageous to his health? the Duke replied, a plaister and posset drink administered unto him by the Earl of Warwick's Physician, whereupon the King much desired the plaister and posset drink to be sent for, and the Duke delaying it, the King commanded a servant of the Duke's to go for it against the Duke's earnest request; he humbly craving his Majesty not to make use of it, without the advice of his own Physicians and experiment upon others; which the King said he would do, and in confidence thereof the Duke left him, and went to London, and in the mean time he being absent, the said plaister and posset drink were brought; and at the Duke's return, his Majesty commanded the Duke to give him the posset drink, which he did, the Physicians then present not seeming to mislike it: afterwards the King's health declining, and the Duke hearing a rumour as if his physick had done his Majesty hurt, and that he had administered physick without advice; the Duke acquainted the King therewith, who with much discontent replied, they are worse than devils that say so.

About this time the King again earnestly pressed the house of Commons for a speedy supply, by their speaker Sir Heneage Finch; giving them to understand, that if they did not pass the Bill of Subsidy by the end of the week following, it would enforce him to take other resolutions; and if by their denial, or delay any thing of ill consequence should fall out either at home, or abroad, he called God and Man to witness, that he had done his part to prevent it by calling his people together to advise with him; whose sitting (if they dispatched this according to his desire) he resolved to continue, for the dispatch of other affairs, and after their recess to bring them again together the next winter.

Before the Commons sent an answer, they drew up a petition to his Majesty. That he would be pleased to remove from all places of trust and authority, all such persons as were either Popish recusants, or according to the direction of former acts of state, justly to be suspected to be such. And herewith they likewise sent a large scrawl of the names of all such noblemen and others as continued in places of high trust in the several counties of England.

The answer to the late articles against the Duke of Buckingham, being by him delivered into the Lord's House, he desired their Lordships to send to the Commons for a speedy reply; whereupon the Commons required a copy of his answer. But the Duke fearing what might be the effect thereof humbly applied himself to the Lords, whom he intreated to allow him the benefit of a free and general pardon granted by King James in Parliament in the 21st year of his reign, and likewise that of the coronation.

Presently after the Commons drew up another declaration of grievances against the Duke, whom they resolved utterly to overthrow, though contrary to the inclination of the King; who being thereat incensed, dissolved the Parliament the very next day, June 15, 1626, and committed the Earl of Bristol to the Tower, publishing a proclamation for burning all copies of the said declaration. After which the King published a declaration, shewing the grounds and reasons of his dissolving this and the former parliament.

Then several ways were resolved on for the advancement of the King's revenue, and special care was taken by the Council for the levying of customs and imposts upon all merchandizes imported and exported, as being intended to have been settled by the two last Parliaments, but prevented by their sudden dissolution. The forfeitures of Papists likewise, which had been misemployed, were now taken into a more strict account; Privy Seals also were issued out, and

benevolence proposed, and at length a commission for a general loan was resolved upon, as the most convenient method, since the present state of affairs admitted not of the way of Parliament, and private instructions were given to the Commissioners how to manage the business which upon their faith and allegiance they were commanded to keep secret, and not to disclose to any.

About this time some soldiers returned from Cadiz, and were quartered in the countries, and money was raised for them, which made this loan more unwelcome; and Sir Randolph Crew for not appearing vigorous in promoting the loan, was displaced from being L. Chief Justice, and Sir Nich. Hyde advanced in his place; the Bishop of Lincoln was likewise informed against in the Star Chamber by Sir John Lamb and Dr. Sybthorp, for speaking against the loan, and seeming to favor the partizans and nonconformists: not long before which Bishop Laud (hearing that the Bishop of Lincoln endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the D. of Buckingham) dreamed, that the bishop came to him with iron chains, but returned free from them, that he leaped upon a horse, departed, and he could not overtake him, which was afterwards interpreted concerning the Bishop of Lincoln's taking arms for the Parliament in Wales; and his being at liberty when Bishop Laud was imprisoned in the Tower.

There were several occasions at this time which required considerable supplies of money, for besides that of the Palatinate, there was great probability of a war with France upon this occasion; the French King, Lewis the 13th. had borrowed of his brother-in-law the King of England, a Man of War called the Vauntguard, and six other merchant ships in pursuance of a design against Italy, but with this express condition, that they should not be employed against the protestants at Rochel; there having been an agreement lately made between them and their King by the meditation of the English Ambassadors: but Monsieur Soubize, who was for the protestants, taking the advantage of the French armies going to Italy, suddenly broke that agreement; for getting some small ships together, he surprized the Isle of Rhee, and some ships in the harbour, at which the French King being offended, turns his whole design from Italy to Rochel; and with the seven English ships under Admiral Pennington, twenty Dutch ships and the French navy, he furiously falls upon Soubize, forceth him from his fastness, and chaseth him to the Isle of Oleron: the King of England was much concerned at this action of the French King, as a breach of his royal word, and demanded satisfaction which the French King deferring to give, the

King seized a rich French ship, and the French King arrested the goods of English merchants in France, to the value of three hundred thousand pounds; but at length all was reconciled and restored on both sides.

Thus all seemed quiet at present, till the insolent deportment of the Queen's Priests and Confessor made another rupture; who imposed upon her to go barefoot to Spain, to wait upon her servants at their dinners, nay to walk on foot on a rainy morning, from Somerset-House to St. James's, and from thence as far as Tyburn gallows, to offer up her prayers for the souls of some Jesuits, whom they stiled Martyrs, who were formerly executed there; her Confessor himself riding by her in a coach. These and several other arrogances, being justly charged upon the Queen's French domestic servants, they were paid off, discharged, and sent home: upon which the French arrested the ships of the English wine merchants at Blay Castle, which was so ill resented by his Majesty of Great Britain; that he resolved upon a breach with France: but about the same time the English fleet under L. Willoughby, which were sent to the aid of the Rochellers, were so scattered by a storm, that they could scarce get safe into harbour.

The assessment of the loan was generally opposed, whereupon the people of the lower rank were ordered to appear in the military yard near St. Martin's in the fields; before the Lieutenant of the Tower, to be listed for soldiers; it being thought fit, that those who refused to assist with their purses in common defence, should be forced to serve in their persons; others of better quality, were bound to appear at the council table; several of whom were committed prisoners to the Fleet, Marshalsea, Gatehouse, and other prisons, and among them Sir John Eliot, who petitioned his Majesty and repeated many precedents, that all manner of aids and taxes in former kings reigns were never levied but by the general consent of the Nobility and Commons assembled in Parliament. However he was committed prisoner to the Gatehouse, and upon the same account Sir Peter Hayman was commanded to serve his Majesty in the Palatinate, which after he had settled his estate he did accordingly.

Doctor Sybthorp and Dr. Maynwaring, two eminent preachers at court, about this time preached up the necessity and duty of the loan; one of them asserting, that the Prince hath power to direct his counsel and make laws, and that subjects, if they cannot exhibit active obedience, in case the thing commanded should be against the law of God, or Nature, or more impossible, yet nevertheless

they ought to yield passive obedience; and in all other cases they were bound to active obedience. The other affirmed, that the King's royal command in imposing of loans and taxes, though without common consent in Parliament, did oblige the subjects conscience upon pain of eternal damnation. Which position being entertained by the court with applause, the sermon of Dr. Sybthorp, called Apostolick Obedience, was licensed and approved of by Dr. Laud B. of London; and an express command was sent from the King to Archbishop Abbot to license it, which he refused, whereupon having been under some disfavour before, this increased it, and he was suspended from his Archiepiscopal See, and a commission was granted to five Bishops to execute his office: after which the Bishop published a narrative of the cause and manner of his suspension.

Five of those gentlemen who were imprisoned about the loan, had their Habeas Corpus granted, and were brought to their trial before Sir Nicholas Hyde, Lord Chief Justice; where, after arguing the case between Council on both sides, the Lord Chief Justice concluded, that since they were committed by the King's authority, the court could not free them; so that they were remanded to prison, till the order came out for a general release.

The Irish Papists, in hope of some remission of the penal laws, offered to furnish the King at their own charge with a standing Army 5000 Foot and 500 Horse, and a large contribution for securing the Narrow Seas, which was opposed in England by Sir John Savil, and in Ireland by the Lord Primate of Armagh and divers others, as tending to preserve the Papists interests, and sinking the Protestants; upon which the Lord Deputy moved the Primate to endeavour to prevail with the Protestants to supply the King's necessities; which he attempted to do in a very learned speech, though not with the expected success.

In 1627, being the third year of his Majesty's Reign, the Duke of Buckingham, to clear his reputation, as to the charge of Negligence in his Admiralship, with much ado compleated his naval forces, consisting of six thousand horse and foot in ten ships royal, and ninety merchant-men; with which he set sail from Portsmouth, June 27, and published a manifesto of the King's affection to the reformed Churches in France, and his displeasure against the last misemploying of his ships against the Rochellers. But by several accidents this great design miscarried, with the death of near two thousand common soldiers, thirty prisoners of note, and forty-four colours taken: but notwithstanding this expedition in the isle of

Rhee miscarried, yet at sea there was somewhat better success ; a great French ship was taken upon the coasts of Holland, laden with great guns, arms, and ammunition of all sorts, to a very considerable value ; Sir John Pennington likewise took thirty four rich French merchantmen, homeward bound, which were all safely brought to England ; the poor remains of the army which came from the Isle of Rhee, most of them Irish and Scots, and consequently rude and boisterous, were quartered in the country villages ; which was very troublesome to the people.

At this time the Exchequer was very low, and several late enterprizes having miscarried, the Rochellers being also now more distressed than ever, the cause of these evils were gravely represented by Sir Robert Cotton to several of the lords of the council ; whereupon it was resolved on by the council, that a parliament should be called, and writs were presently issued out ; a commission likewise passed under the great seal, for raising monies through the kingdom in nature of an excise ; and the Lord Treasurer was ordered to pay thirty thousand pounds to Philip Burmelack, a Dutch merchant, to be returned to Sir William Balfour and John Dalbier in the Low Countries, for raising a thousand horse ; which caused strange jealousies and suspicions among the people, as if these German horse were designed to inforce the payment of the excise. There was some discourse about levying ship-money, but it was declined at that time, because of the parliament approaching.

In the mean time, a company of Jesuits were apprehended in an house at Clerkenwell, which was designed for a College of that order ; where among other papers a letter was found, discovering the secret designs they had laid for embroiling church and state.

Upon the 17th of March 1627, the parliament assembled, the Commons chusing Sir John Finch, speaker ; the King in a speech tells the two houses, that the greatness of the danger was such, as required a speedy supply, and that therefore they might rest assured it was the principal cause of their meeting ; wherein he hoped they would shew themselves such true patriots of the true religion, the laws and liberties of this state, and the just defence of their friends and allies, now in hazard by Popish enemies, as not to deceive his expectations, which were very great, though indeed somewhat nipt, by remembrance of the distractions of the last meeting. The Lord Keeper likewise inforced the King's speech, and earnestly pressed them to consider of some speedy way for supplying his Majesty's necessities.

Before the parliament began any debate, a letter came to them directed, To the Members of the House of Commons, called A Speech without Doors; discovering grievances and inconveniences of the state, from one who had been a member of the former parliament. The first thing taken into consideration by the Commons, was the grievances of the kingdom, and the first thing insisted on was the case of those gentlemen for refusing the loan, and who notwithstanding their Habeas Corpus, were remanded back to prison; and after a long debate between several members, who asserted the illegality of the loan, and also their imprisonment for refusing it; the Lord Chief Justice Hyde and several other judges were desired to declare themselves; who justified their own proceedings, alledging that if they had granted them bail upon Habeas Corpus, it would have reflected on the King, as if he had unjustly imprisoned them: but in conclusion it was resolved upon the question in the house of commons, *nemine contradicente*: 1. That no man ought to be restrained by the command of the King or privy council; without some cause of the commitment. 2. That the writ of Habeas Corpus ought to be granted upon request to every man that is restrained, though by the command of the King, the privy council, or any other. 3. That if a freeman be imprisoned by command of the King, the privy council or any other, and no cause of such commitment expressed, and the same be returned upon an Habeas Corpus granted for the said party, then he ought to be delivered or bailed.

Then the parliament proceeded to draw up a petition against Popish recusants, consisting of these particulars. 1. That all laws and statutes against Jesuits and Popish priests, be put in power and execution. 2. That a strict course be taken for apprehending and discovering of them. 3. That all Popish recusants be prohibited from coming to court, or within ten miles of London. 4. That no place of trust or authority shall be committed to Popish recusants; with several other particulars to the same purpose; which petition was presented from the Lords and commons to the King by the Lord Keeper, who gave a full and satisfactory answer to every article; after which five subsidies were granted to the King, which gave so great satisfaction to his Majesty, that he sent them word, He would deny them nothing of their liberties which any of his predecessors had granted: a petition was then presented against quartering of soldiers in the countries, to which the King promised an answer in convenient time; whereupon the commons fell upon the memorable petition of right, and after several of the members had delivered their opinions at large concern-

ing some clauses in it, the Lords agreed that without any addition or preface it should be presented to the King; the substance whereof was:

1. They do pray his excellent Majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament, and that none be called to make answer, or to take such oath, or to give attendance, or to be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof. 2. That no freeman be taken or imprisoned or be diseized of his freehold of liberty, or his free customs, or be outlawed, or exiled, but by the lawful judgment of his Peers, or by the laws of the land. 3. That your Majesty would be pleased to remove the soldiers and mariners now billeted in several counties; and that your people may not be so burdened for the time to come. 4. That the late commissions for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled, and that hereafter no commission of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed, lest by colour of them, any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed, or put to death contrary to law, and the franchises of the law.

All which we most humbly pray your most excellent Majesty as their rights and liberties according to the laws and statutes of this realm; and that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that all awards, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of your people, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence and example.

After this there came a letter from the King to the House of Lords, wherein among other things his Majesty declared it to be his royal pleasure, which God willing he would ever continue and constantly maintain; That neither he, nor his privy council, should or would hereafter, command to prison, or otherwise restrain the persons of any for not lending money, nor for any cause which in his conscience did not concern the public good; nor would he be drawn to pretend any cause, wherein his judgment was not fully satisfied.

This, Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards Earl of Strafford) said, was a letter of grace, but that the people were not satisfied but by a parliamentary way, that the debate would spend much time, that it was not directed to the House of Commons, and that the petition itself would rectify all mistakes. When the petition of right was presented to the King, the answer following was quickly returned; the King willeth that right be done according to the law, and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his

subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression, contrary to their just rights and liberties; to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as to that of his prerogative.

This answer being read in the House of Commons, was not judged satisfactory; and therefore upon their humble petition for a clear and satisfactory answer to the petition of right, his Majesty to shew how free and candid his concessions were to his subjects, sent them this short but full answer; "*soit droit fait come il est desire*," let it be done according to your desire. Which answer was received with general joy and satisfaction of both houses; and the citizens made bonfires, and rung bells, and his Majesty for further satisfaction was pleased to receive into favour Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Williams, and several others: his Majesty likewise suffered the commission of loan and excise to be cancelled in his presence, so that all discontents of every side seemed to be banished.

In 1628, the fourth year of his majesty's reign, the parliament not being satisfied of their former disappointment about the Duke of Buckingham, drew up another remonstrance against him, and likewise against Bishop Neal, and Bishop Laud, which they presented to the King with the bill of subsidies; his majesty telling them, that he expected not such a return for his favorable answer to the petition of right, and as for the grievances he would take time to consider of them.

An information being likewise exhibited against the Duke in the Star Chamber, for divers offences and misdemeanors, an order was made in that court, that all proceedings thereupon should be taken off the file; by the King's express will, and pleasure: and because it had been reported by a member of parliament, that the Duke should say at his table, pish, it matters not what the parliament doth, for without my leave and authority, they shall not be able to touch the hair of a dog: The Duke made protestations in the house of Lords, that he never had those words so much as in his thoughts. But the King being resolved to hold up the Duke, sent so brisk an answer to their remonstrances as provoked the Commons (who had soon forgot his majesty's late Act of Grace) to question his taking tunnage and poundage; which being of too valuable consideration to be hazarded, his majesty obviated by adjourning the parliament to the 20th of October; there being several acts passed by them, one about the Lord's day, another to restrain the sending any to be popishly bred beyond the seas, another for confirmation of the subsidies granted by the Clergy, and for the grant of five entire subsidies upon the temporality, and divers more.



DR. JOHN LAMB.

Much about this time, Dr. Lamb, who was in great favour with the Duke of Buckingham (and had been formerly twice arraigned, once for necromancy, and another time for a rape) was killed by the furious multitude in Lothbury, who hated him both for his own sake and the Dukes, he being called the Duke's Devil; and though he were guarded by four constables and their attendants, yet the rabble struck him down, beat out one of his eyes, and left him half dead on the ground, from whence he was carried to the Poultry Counter, where he died according to his own prediction the year before; being pitied by few, and loved of none.

The Earl of Denbigh having awhile since sailed with fifty ships to the relief of Rochel, was repelled with much loss; so that despairing of success, he returned back to Plymouth; whereupon another expedition was resolved on, with a more considerable navy, and the Duke of Buckingham was designed Admiral, who going to Portsmouth, in order

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and being asked, what inclined him to commit so horrid an action? he boldly answered, he killed him for the cause of God and his country: he likewise fastened a paper in the crown of his hat, which intimated that his only motive to this fact, was the late remonstrance of the commons against the Duke, and that he could not sacrifice his life in a nobler cause, than by delivering his country from so great an enemy. Felton was afterwards condemned and hanged at Tyburn, and his body hanged upon a gibbet at Portsmouth.

There was observations made of divers passages presaging the Duke's death, as that his picture fell down in the high commission chamber at Lambeth. That the lady Davis, reputed a Prophetess, had foretold in June, that the Duke's fatal time would not come till August; and lastly that Mr. Towerson, of the custom-house, was charged by a Phantasm or Ghost, resembling the Duke's Father, to tell him, that if he changed not his courses, he should shortly become a great fairing to the City of London; which was afterwards judged to be accomplished by his death, which happened the day before the Fair, that is, August 23, 1628.

However the fleet sets sail under the command of the Earl of Lindsey, and came to the bar of Rochel Haven, when there was a wonderful barracado contrived by Cardinal Richlieu, of fourteen hundred yards, across the channel; however the Earl adventured in, passing the forts and outworks, but the wind changing, drove the ships upon each other; which unhappy accident made the Rochellers despair of relief, and occasioned the present surrender of the town; after which the Earl of Lindsey brought the fleet safe home again.

The Parliament was to have met in October, but by reason of some ill news during this expedition, they were again adjourned to January 20th; in which time the merchants refusing to pay custom had their goods seized; complaint whereof being made to the parliament, the

King summons the two houses to the Banqueting House at Whitehall, and requires them to pass the promised bill of tunnage and poundage, for ending all differences, since it was too precious a jewel of the Crown to be so lightly forgone.

But the Commons being forward enough to take all occasions to put off the King's requests, answered, that God's cause was to be preferred before the King's, and they would therefore in the first place consult concerning religion; and thereupon appointed one Committee for religion, and another for civil matters; in the last whereof there was a complaint that the petition of right, had been printed with the King's first answer only, and not with the last which was judged satisfactory: another complaint was likewise made about the customs, and Mr. Rolls a member of the house affirmed, that it was reported some of the officers of the custom-house should say, though all the parliament were in you, we would take your goods; Mr. Richard Chambers was likewise imprisoned for saying at the council table, that such great customs and impositions were required of the merchants in England, as were in no other place, that they were more screwed up than under the Turk. After which a form of submission being sent him from the Star Chamber to subscribe his name thereto, but he instead of owning it as a fault underwrit these words, all the abovesaid contents, I, Richard Chambers do utterly abhor and detest, as most unjust and false: and never to death will acknowledge any part thereof; and quoted divers scriptures against oppression and injustice.

As to the printing the petition of right, the printer was questioned, and for the other, the farmers of the custom were challenged to answer it, but the King excused them as acting by his command; yet this not being clear to the parliament, they would have proceeded against them as delinquents; whereupon the King sent word, that in honour he could not, nor would not give way thereto: which so incensed the parliament, that they adjourned themselves for some days, and then meeting again, the King adjourned them further till March 1, upon which Sir John Eliot stood up and accused the Lord Treasurer Weston as an enemy to the English trade, and designing to transfer it to foreigners; which speech caused a farther adjournment to March 10. The commons enraged hereat, blamed their speaker for admitting the message, and ordered Sir John Eliot to read their remonstrance (the speaker and clerk refusing to do it) which was to this purpose;

That the House had considered of the bill for tonnage and poundage, but being overprest with other business, and that of itself so.

perplexed, as would require much leisure to discharge, could not at that time finish it; this present session moving hastily to an end; and lest his Majesty should hereafter, as he hath done heretofore, incline to evil spirits, or to be abused to believe, that he might justly receive the subsidies of tunnage and poundage, which they humbly declare to be against the fundamental law of the nation, and contrary to the King's late answer to the petition of right; therefore they crave that his Majesty would for the future forbear such taxes, and not take it ill, if his subjects refuse what is demanded by arbitrary and unwarrantable power.

A report was likewise made from the committee of pardons by Oliver Cromwell, (a fatal name afterward) that Dr. Neal, Bishop of Winchester, was chiefly instrumental in procuring the King's hand to the pardons of Dr. Sybthorp, Dr. Maynwaring, Mr. Cousens, and Mr. Montague, and that he had likewise preferred Dr. Maynwaring to a rich living, though censured by the former parliament, and disabled from holding any ecclesiastical dignity; also that he was a countenancer not only of Arminianism, but flat Popery.

The Commons having prepared their remonstrance about the bill of tunnage and poundage, they required their speaker to put to the vote, whether it should be presented to the King, or not; but the speaker refused it, and according to the King's order would have gone away; but Mr. Hollis would not suffer him to stir till himself had read the protestation of the house, consisting of three heads.

1. Whoever shall bring any innovation of religion, or by favour seek to introduce Popery or Arminianism, or other opinions, disagreeing with the true and orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and common-wealth. 2. Whosoever shall counsel or advise, the taking, or levying the subsidies of tunnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed a capital enemy to the common-wealth. 3. If any man shall yield voluntarily, or pay the same; not being granted by parliament he shall be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to the common-wealth.

These articles were entertained with the general approbation of the members, but were much disliked by the King, who immediately sent for the Serjeant of the Mace out of the House of Commons, but Sir Miles Hobart took the key from him, and locking the door would not suffer him to go forth, at which the King being very much offended, he sends the Usher of the Black Rod to dissolve them, who was

net admitted in, whereupon the King, with his guard of pensioners, were resolved to force their entrance, which the Commons having notice of, they suddenly went all out of the House; and this was the end of this parliament.

After their dissolution, the King published a declaration of the cause thereof; and then questioned eleven of the refractory members at the council table, who were all committed to divers prisons. About the same time the Marquis of Huntly, Sheriff of the greatest part of Scotland, neglecting the order of the council for seizing some priests and Jesuits, who publickly said mass and committed other insolencies at Aberdeen, with several other Lords, who joined with him, and refused to appear upon summons, and had likewise given notice to the priests and jesuits to escape, were proclaimed rebels and traitors to the King and kingdom; upon which they fled into England. The French King having had much loss by the war with England did now therefore propose and conclude a peace with the King, consisting of several articles.

A paper was about this time dispersed abroad, containing some projects how the King might augment his revenues without the help of parliaments, upon which the Earls of Bedford, Somerset, and Clare with others, were committed upon information that they had dispersed some copies of them; but Sir David Fowles soon cleared them, who deposed upon oath, that it was contrived near sixteen years before, by Sir Robert Dudley, son to the Earl of Leicester, when he was in Italy.

The dissolving of the last parliament procured great animosities in the people against the prime ministers of state, which occasioned divers invective libels to be dispersed abroad, whereof one against Bishop Laud was found in the Dean of St. Paul's Yard to this effect. "Laud, look to thyself, be assured thy life is sought; as thou art the fountain of wickedness, repent of thy monstrous sin before thou be taken out of the world; and assure thyself, neither God, nor the world, can endure such a vile counsellor, or whisperer." Another very bitter libel was scattered against the Lord Treasurer Weston: on the other side some considering the unsuccessfulness of this and the two former parliaments, advised never for the future to call any more parliaments; and to that end the forementioned book of projects was published, and addrest to the King, proposing some methods to prevent the impertinancy of parliaments (as he called them) for time to come, by the example of Lewis XI. of France; who pretending that the commons or third estate, did encroach too much upon the nobility

and clergy, dissolved it; and never after suffered the people freely to elect their representatives: but nominated certain eminent persons himself instead thereof, which is called, *L'Assembly des Notables*, or the assembly of chief, or principal men; and the methods proposed to avoid parliaments were:

1. To have a fortress in every considerable town. 2. To cause highways to be made through all such towns. 3. To make none of the inhabitants governors of those fortresses. 4. To let none pass through those towns without a ticket. 5. To have the names of all lodgers taken by inn-keepers. 6. To impose a general oath upon the subjects, not to oppose any of these contrivances. And to increase the King's revenue, the advice was, 1. To demand the tenth part of every man's estate. 2. To buy-in all leases upon the crown lands. 3. To take the benefit of salt into his own hands. 4. To demand a rate for sealing the weights every year. 5. To lay a Tax upon wools. 6. Upon every lawyer's fee. 7. Upon inns and victualling houses for a license. 8. Upon all cattle-flesh, and horses sold in the market. 9. Upon all lands alienated. 10. To set a rate upon all Offices in his majesty's grant. 11. To reduce his majesty's household to board wages. 12. To lay a tax upon white meats on fasting days. 13. To lay an imposition upon the papist's lands. 14. To advance some hundreds of persons to honours. 15. To prohibit excess in apparel, which would save the gentry more money, than what they were taxed would amount to.

In the year 1629, one Bellingham was arrested in Fleet-street, and several gentlemen of the Temple attempting his rescue, divers of them were wounded, and some imprisoned; which so increased the tumult, that the Templers made a barricado at St. Dunstan's church, being about six hundred in number, and the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs coming against them with a company of the train'd bands, they boldly resisted them, killing five of them, and wounding near a hundred; but in the end being dispersed, two of them, that is, captain Stamford and captain Ashurst were hanged, though great intercession was made to the king, for Stamford's life; who answered, that since he had been formerly pardoned for a murder, and had committed another, a course ought to be taken to prevent a third.

Upon May 29, 1630, the Queen was delivered of a son at St. James's who was christened Charles; and preserved by Providence, to succeed his father in these three kingdoms, as his rightful inheritance, after the miseries of a long and tedious exile from his native country, unto which he was at length happily restored, with the general consent and acclamation of the whole kingdom. The King of France, and the Prince

Elector Palatine, represented by the duke of Lenox, and the marquis Hamilton, were his godfathers, and the Queen mother of France; represented by the Dutchess of Richmond, his godmother: it was observed that at his nativity a star was seen at noon-day, which might portend some extraordinary passages of this prince's life.

About this time, Dr. Leighton was sentenced to have his forehead stigmated, his nose slit, and his ears slit; for publishing a book called *Sion's Plea*, wherein he exhorted the late parliament to smite the bishops under the fifth commandment, and called the Queen, the Heth, a Canaanite, which sentence was inflicted on him.

In Ireland the Lord Justice was at St. Stephen's in Dublin, while the Justices were at having notice the priests' cruelties, to be Popish Aldermen imprisoned for Mayor: but some

a tumult, rescued the priests, whom the guards again forced to deliver back. Upon information of this riot and insolency, fifteen houses were by special order from the council seized upon for his Majesty's use; and the priests and friars so disturbed, that two of them hanged themselves. Neither did the Papists agree together, for there were great contests in England between the Jesuits and secular priests.

The Earl of Essex had many years before married the Lady Howard, who complaining of his insufficiency for marriage duties, the cause was brought to a trial; and it being made appear by a jury of midwives and the Earl's own confession, that he never could, and believed he never should, carnally know her; thereupon sentence of divorce between



DR. LEIGHTON.

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Papists presumed day to say Mass in the Lord's Church; who thereof, ordered censes, and vestments; and eight were likewise not assisting the Papists making

him and his lady was pronounced by the Bishops: however the Earl was resolved to try his fortune once more, and therefore upon his return out of the Low Countries, where he had been for some time a soldier, he now married a daughter of Sir William Paulet of Wiltshire; but a while after she objecting the same cause of complaint, desired likewise to be divorced from him; which the Earl easily consented to, and it was done accordingly.

In the year 1631, and the 7th of his Majesty's reign, Mervin Lord Audly, and Earl of Castlehaven, was tried by his peers upon the petition of his own son and heir, for Rape and Sodomy; many unnatural and beastly actions being proved against him: whereupon he received sentence to be hanged, but had the favour to be beheaded at Tower-hill. This Earl was born of a very honourable family, and educated in the Protestant Religion, but turned Papist to have the more liberty to commit wickedness: in which he grew to so great a height, that he impudently declared in the presence of some Lords, as others had their several delight; some in one thing, some in another; so his whole delight was in damning souls, by enticing Men to such acts as might surely effect it.

About this time, Sir Giles Allington was convented for marrying his own niece, and was fined twelve thousand pounds to the King, and to give twenty thousand pounds band never to cohabit, or come in private with his niece again; and both of them to do penance at St. Paul's Cross, or St. Mary's in Cambridge, which they accordingly did.

The Protestants were very much discontented in Ireland, that the Papists were discharged from paying the state penalty of twelve pence a Sunday for not going to church; whereby their number was wonderfully increased. Whereupon the King recalled the Lords Justices, who then governed that kingdom, and sent Viscount Wentworth (afterwards Earl of Strafford) thither as Lord Deputy, as judging that these distempers would be better composed under a single government.

In the year 1633, and the 9th of his Majesty's reign, the King made a journey into Scotland, attended with several of the nobility and persons of quality; and on June 18 was solemnly crowned King at Edinborough; which solemnity being finished, the King calls a parliament, and passeth an act for ratification of the old acts; though some affirmed, that the confirmation of episcopacy was intended thereby, and therefore (though in vain) opposed it; upon which one of those persons became awhile after principal man among the covenanters; in this Scottish parliament, that nation shewed then some signs of

disaffection to the King, by reason of several acts which then passed; and the generality of the people (who without doubt were influenced by the greater malecontents) would not suffer the Bishop of Dunblain, Dean of the King's Private Chapel there, to perform prayers twice a day after the English manner; neither durst they receive the Communion on their knees, nor wear a surplice upon Sundays and Holidays.

Not long before his Majesty went to Scotland, being desirous if possible to have prevented that trouble, the King writ to a Scottish Lord who was entrusted with that Crown, to bring it into England, that he might be crowned here; but the Lord returned answer, that he durst not be so false to his trust, that if his Majesty would be pleased to accept thereof in Scotland, he should find those his people ready to yield him the highest honour; but if he should long defer that duty, they might perhaps be inclined to make choice of another King. A very strange and unusual answer from a subject to a prince.

October 13, 1633, the Queen was delivered of her second son, who was baptized James, and designed Duke of York; and about that time died George Abbot Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Laud Bishop of London was elected into his place.

In the year 1634, the English coasts were very much infested by pirates, and the fishing trade almost engrossed by the Hollanders, and His Majesty having occasion for money to regain his absolute dominion over the British Seas, the design of ship-money was first set on foot; and Attorney General Noy being consulted about it, he out of some old records finds an ancient precedent of raising a tax upon the nation by the authority of the King alone, for setting out a navy in case of danger; which was thereupon accordingly put in execution, and by this tax the King raised by writ above twenty thousand pounds a month, though not without great discontent both among Clergy and Laity.

The discontents in Scotland began to increase, and a book was published charging the King with indirect proceedings in the last parliament, and a tendency to the Romish belief, and to blow up the Scotch sparks to a flame, Cardinal Richlieu sent over his chaplain and another gentleman, to heighten their discontents; the author of that book was seized, and found to be abetted by the Lord Balmerino, the treacherous son of a perfidious father; who was thereupon arraigned by his peers, and sentenced to death, but pardoned by the King.

At this time, Gregory Pansani, a priest, was sent over by the Pope with a commission of Oyer and Terminer to decide the difference

between the Jesuits and Secular Priests, and insinuating himself into the favour of Lord Cottington, and Secretary Windebank, he endeavours to discover how far the King might be persuaded about giving toleration to the Popish religion; as to allow them a Popish Bishop to reside here, but nominated and limited by the King; and that the Pope might send a Nuncio to the Queen; but having made some agreement between the Jesuits and Priests, Panzani returned to Rome, and left the further transacting of the business to Seignior Con, who staid in his room.

In the year 1635, a noble fleet was fitted out, by the supply of ship-money, consisting of forty sail, under the Earl of Lindsey, to scour the seas from pirates; at which time the French and Hollanders had confederated against the Spaniards in Flanders both by land and sea; but the English Fleet removed the Hollanders from before Dunkirk, and the common people enraged by the French insolencies at Land, rose up against them, and assisted the Spaniards to expel them the country.

One Thomas Par, of Shropshire, a man almost an hundred and three score years old, was this year brought to London by the Earl of Arundel, as a rarity or miracle, where he died soon after; though it is very probable he might have lived much longer, if he had continued at home, for his removal from his own air, change of diet, and the tediousness of so long a journey, may be supposed to have hastened his end.

December 28, 1634, the Lady Elizabeth, the King's second daughter was born; and to congratulate the Queen's happy delivery, the Hollanders sent an ambassador with a present of an extraordinary value, that is, a massy piece of ambergrease, two large and almost transparent China dishes, a clock of most excellent workmanship, which was made by Rodolphus Emperor of Germany; and likewise several curious pieces of painting.

Dr. William Juxon, bishop of London, about this time was made Lord Treasurer in the place of the Lord Weston Earl of Portland, deceased. And now great differences arose about Church matters, chiefly occasioned by Archbishop Laud's strict and zealous enjoying of ceremonies, as placing the communion-table at the east end of the Church, upon an ascent with rails, altar-fashion; with many other things not formerly strictly insisted on, and now vehemently opposed by those who were usually called Puritans or Nonconformists, which caused them to be charged with faction; yet some of the Episcopal party asserted, that the communion-table ought to stand in the middle of the quire according to the primitive example; and

a book supposed to be written by Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, was published to this purpose.

His Majesty considering the good success of his former fleet, fits out another in the year 1636, under the command of the Earl of Northumberland, who going northwards, of the Holland scoured the seas, reduced them to his Majesty to the King upon Busses, and desired leave of fish there; which divers gentlemen granted them.

Several gentlemen had refused to pay the imposition of ship money, and among the rest Mr. Hamden of Buck-inghamshire,

Majesty refers to his twelve judges in Michaelmas term, whom, that is, Finch, Daven-Jones, Trever, Crawly, Weston,

associates, and names against them, to be in-courts of Westminister Hall; but Hutton and Crook refused it: this year March 17, the King's third daughter, the Princess Ann was born.

In the thirteenth year of his Majesty's reign, 1637, Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Burton received a severe censure for writing against their government; being all three sentenced to pay five thousand pounds fine to the King, to lose their ears in the pillory, and to be imprisoned, which last two they accordingly suffered.



MR. PRYNNE.



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and to be imprisoned, which last two they accordingly suffered.

Bishop Williams of Lincoln, having the great seal taken from him in the first year of his Majesty's reign, he so deeply resented it, that ever after he studied revenge; and a bill being preferred against him in the Star-Chamber for some dishonourable speeches of the King, he endeavoured by some indirect means to clear his innocence, and was therefore this year sentenced ten thousand pounds fine to the King, imprisonment in the Tower during pleasure, to be suspended *ab Officiis, & Beneficiis*, from his bishoprick, and the profits thereof, and to be referred to the high commission court as to what concerned them.

His Majesty desiring an uniformity of religion in England and Scotland (a thing before designed by King James) in pursuance thereof enjoined the Scots the use of the English Liturgy, the Surplice, and other habiliments, and began first at his own Chapel; and in this year 1637, proclamation was made that the same order should be observed in all Churches, wherewith the Bishops were contented but not the Kirk, nor the People; who were so enraged thereat, that when the Dean of Edinburgh began to read the Common Prayer in St. Giles' Church with his surplice on, July 13, the Council, Bishops, Lords, and Magistrates, being present: the women, and then the ordinary sort of men, made such a disturbance and noise with cursing, clapping their hands, and so great rudeness, that nothing could be heard, but their clamours; upon which the Bishop of Edinburgh, who was to preach that day, stepped up into the pulpit to reprove them; which increasing their fury, they assault him with such a shower of stones, seats, stools, cudgels, and whatever else was near; that his life was much endangered thereby, and the Archbishop of Lord Chancellor, was been as rudely not the Pro- and others trouble turners out of the Dean then read the Ser- though not noise from the multitude about the Church. The like disturbances happened in other places, but in the afternoon the Book was again read without much trouble, after which some of the disturbers were seized and



St. Andrews cellor, inter-like to have handled, had vest, Bailiffs with much ed these riot-Church, the proceeding to vice - Book, without great

punished, but with no great severity; and the Ministers were promised protection and maintenance in reading it; so that all at present seemed calm and quiet, till after harvest; at which time such a confluence of people came to Edinburgh, as gave just cause to the council to fear an insurrection; to prevent which they issued out several proclamations, That no Church matters should be resolved on, but that all persons depart home, unless they can shew some cause to the Council, upon pain of rebellion.

Yet this was so little regarded by the people, that the Bishop of Galloway going the next day to the Council was pursued and assaulted by them even to the Council Chamber; and being with difficulty got in, the house was presently encompassed, and his person peremptorily demanded, upon which those within required aid of the Provost and Council of Edinburgh; but their condition was as bad, being likewise beset in their town-house by the people, who would not let them go out till they had subscribed, 1. To join in opposition to the service book, and in petitioning to that purpose. 2. To restore two or three of their silenced ministers. Which being related to the Council, the Lord Traquair and another went in person to the town house where they found the tumult somewhat quieted by these concessions, but in coming back, they were furiously assaulted in the Grass-street, and the L. Traquair was trodden under foot, his hat, cloak, and white wand, was taken away, and himself hauled to the Council House. The Lords whereof weighing their own danger, sent secretly to some of those noblemen and gentlemen who disliked the Service Book, and were then assembled in the common cause against it; by whom they were safely guarded through the multitude, to their several houses.

And now judging themselves secure, they make proclamation for breaking up all conventions and keeping the peace, which had the contrary effect. Two petitions being presented to them: one from the common sort of men, women and children, the other in the name of the noblemen, gentlemen and ministry, against the Service-Book and Canons, these petitions were sent to the King, who being offended therewith, adjourned the term to Sterling, and by proclamation forbade upon extremest penalty, such tumultuous meetings: against which proclamation the Earl of Hume, the Lord Lindsay, and divers others, made protestation; and in pursuance thereof they set up four tables or committees. 1. Of the Nobility. 2. Of the Gentry. 3. Of the Barons. 4. Of the Ministry; to prepare matters for the General Council, consisting of several commissioners taken out of the other.

The next year 1638, the Scots entered into a Solemn League and Covenant as they termed it; which being a thing of note, I thought it not impertinent to set down at large (saith the continuator of Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle, licensed by authority in 1665,) since it is known to have been a matter of no less remark and consideration than whatever this age hath produced extraordinary; it was designed by the Scots in opposition to the English Liturgy and Service Book, recommended to them by A. B. Laud, and the English prelacy; and ordered to be taken throughout all that nation, but when the parliament of England desired the assistance of that kingdom (as you will find hereafter) a confederacy was then entered into between both nations; one of the conditions whereof was; that the people as well of England and Ireland, as Scotland, should take this solemn League and Covenant; but though it was soon laid aside in this nation as a thing out of date, by those who pretended higher dispensations, yet for the time it was received by us from our brethren of Scotland with high veneration and esteem; but such is the mutability of affairs below, that those things which at one time have been held most sacred and inviolable, have at another time been reduced to the lowest ebb of ignominy and contempt; and such was the fate of this once so venerable Oath, which by the same parliamentary authority by which it was at first voted up into the strictest observance, and as it were adoration, came at length to be sentenced and condemned after the manner of most execrable malefactors; the form of this covenant was as followeth:

'We Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all sorts in the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one king, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the King's Majesty and his posterity, and the true publick liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms; wherein every one's private condition is included: and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God against the true religion and professors thereof in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion; and how much their rage, power, and presumption, are of late, and at this time increased and exercised; whereof, the deplorable estate of the Church and Kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the Church and Kingdom of England, and the dangerous state of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, are present and publick testimonies; we have now at last (after other means of supplication, remonstrance,

protestations, and sufferings) for the preservation of ourselves and religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, wherein we all subscribe; and each one of us for ourself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear:

1. That we will sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God endeavour in our several places and callings the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the word of God, and the examples of the best reformed Churches: and shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of Church-government, directory for worship, and catechizing; that we, and our posterity after us may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us. 2. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is, Church-government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and other all ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy) superstition, heresie, schism, prophaneſſe, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine, and to the power of godliness; lest we partake of other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his name one in the three kingdoms. 3. We shall with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliament, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the Kings Majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and the defence of the true religion, and liberties of the kingdoms; that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness. 4. We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindring the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties among the people, contrary to his LEAGUE AND COVENANT; that they

may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve; or the supreme judicature of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient. 5. And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace betwixt these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both parliaments, we shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoyned in a firm peace and union to all posterity; and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent article. 6. We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this **LEAGUE AND COVENANT**, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly, or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency of neutrality in this cause, which so much concerns the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and the honour of the King; but shall all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatever; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: all which we shall do as in the sight of God.

And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God, and his son Jesus Christ; as is too manifest by our present distresses and danger, the fruits thereof; we profess and declare before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and the sins of these kingdoms; especially, that we have not as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions, so much abounding among us; and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour, for ourselves, and all others under our power and charge, both in public and in private, in all duties we owe to God and Man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation;

and establish these Churches and Kingdoms in truth and peace. And this COVENANT we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his holy spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success, as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian Churches groaning under or in danger of the yoke of Antichristian tyranny, to join in the same or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, and the enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquility of Christian Kingdoms and Common-wealths.

This Covenant the Scots were resolved to maintain and to that purpose they sent for General Lesly and other officers from beyond the sea, providing themselves likewise with arms and ammunition; whilst Dr. Hamilton, who was appointed to allay these heats and distempers seemed secretly to foment them, by spending a great deal of time in declarations, proclamations, messages and letters; and afterwards makes such propositions to the confederates about calling a general assembly, as were very distasteful to the Covenanters and increased their fury: Whereupon Hamilton obtained of the King the sole and unlimited power of managing that affair, and then acquainted them with a declaration which he had procured of the King; That he did discharge the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and high Commission, and likewise did annul and rescind all acts for establishing them, and did discharge the urging the Practice of the five articles of Perth; and that all persons whomsoever shall be liable to the censure of parliament, general assembly, or any other judicatories; according to the nature of the offence; that the ancient confession of faith and band annexed, shall be subscribed and received as in King James's time; that a general assembly be holden at Glasgow, Nov. 21. 1638, and a parliament at Edinburgh, May 15, 1639; all former offences to be pardoned, and a general fast appointed.

This declaration being published, the Marquis and Council subscribed the Covenanter's Confession of Faith, &c. yet still some matter remained for a Protestation, which was read by one Johnson; wherein the people were exhorted to consider with whom they had to deal: and exceptions were made against Bishops, and their voting in the assembly; after this they elect commissioners for the assembly, whom they moved to cite the arch-bishops and bishops to appear there,

as guilty persons; which being refused, they themselves present a bill of complaint against them to the Presbytery at Edinburgh, who accordingly warned them to appear at the next general assembly; at their meeting the bishops sent in a protestation against their assembly, which the covenanters would not vouchsafe to read; but presumed to forbid six lords of the privy council to sit in their assembly, though nominated by the King. His Majesty having notice of their proceedings, as to the bishops, and other matters, ordered their assembly to be dissolved, which was done accordingly, Nov. 21, 1638; and the covenanters immediately according to their usual method, issued out a protestation against it, and likewise declared six former meetings (which were opposite to their ways) to be void and of none effect; and soon after they abolished episcopacy and then prepared for a war, as being sensible that the King would maintain the rights of the bishops, and would likewise strictly call them to account for their late transactions.

About this time, a letter was sent by the Scots to the King of France, to implore his assistance, signed by several of the nobility; the King of England prepares an army for Scotland, with which in the year 1639, he marcheth in person into the north; but while he stayed at York, some of the Scots nobility tampered with the English, telling them that the ruin of the Scots would enable the King to be more severe towards his English subjects; by which intelligence and correspondence it was evident that the English had no mind to fight, though their army was much stronger than the Scots; whereupon by the mediation of some persons a treaty of peace was begun, and soon finished; wherein it was agreed, that his Majesty should publish a declaration, whereby all should be confirmed which his commissioners had promised in his name, that a general assembly and a parliament be held at Edinburgh in a short time: and lastly, that upon disbanding their forces, dissolving their councils, and restoring the King to his forts and castles, &c. the King was to recal his fleet and forces, and make restitution of their goods since the breach.

The King's declaration was no sooner published but the covenanters set forth another protestation, for adhering to their assembly at Glasgow; and their covenant; whereupon the King, who intended to be present at the general assembly, not finding the Scots punctual in performing articles, and perceiving they would treat of some matters distasteful to him, goes into England; after which the assembly sat at Edinburgh and abolished Episcopacy, the Liturgy,

High Commission, and Book of Canons; and then made several demands of the King of a various nature.

His Majesty understanding how things went, and that the Scots levied taxes and prepared arms, he commanded by his Commissioner, the Earl of Traquair, that their parliament should be adjourned for some time; but the covenanters declared against this command, and sent remonstrance to the King; and afterwards Hamilton and Traquair, likewise came to London, where there were such proceedings, as did the more exasperate the jarring parties against each other.

In this year 1639, a Spanish fleet of near seventy sail, and twenty five thousand men, designed to be landed at Dunkirk for the relief of Flanders, were set upon by the Dutch in the Downs, and eleven of them taken and sent into Holland; three perished on the coast of France, one near Dover, and five were sunk in the fight. What the real intent of this fleet was is yet uncertain; for it seemed unlikely that twenty-five thousand men should be sent only for a recruit, and the Admiral refusing to shew his commission when required thereto by the King, makes it seem yet more suspicious.

The Scots commissioners having delivered their message, return home to Edinburgh, November 19, 1639, the same night a great part of the castle-wall fell down, and the anniversary of the King's birth day. Awhile after, the King sent Lord Estrich and others, to repair the walls, who were resisted by the covenanters, as not judging the Lord Estrich to be a fit governor for the castle; which office was designed him by the King. The King being hereat extremely offended, resolved, since fair means would not prevail, to force the Scots to reason; and to that end considers how to make provisions for men and money; and calling a secret cabinet council, consisting only of Arch-bishop Laud, the Earl of Strafford, and Duke Hamilton (who drove on his own particular interest) it was concluded, that for the King's supply a parliament must be called in England and another in Ireland; but because the debates of parliament would take up some time, it was resolved, that the Lords should subscribe to lend the King money. The Earl of Strafford subscribed twenty thousand pounds, the Duke of Richmond as much; but Hamilton pretended poverty, preserving his money for other uses; the rest of the lords, judges, officers, and other dependants, and many of the gentry, yea even several Popish recusants, contributed according to their ability.

The Scots on the other side foreseeing the storm, prepared for their own defence, making treaties in Denmark, Sweden, Holland

and Poland; and the Jesuits, (who are never idle,) did likewise endeavour to foment the differences; to which end, from the Pope's Nuncio, Sir Tob. Matthews, Read and Maxwell, two Scots, endeavoured to persuade the discontented people, that the King designed to enslave them to his will and pleasure. Which practices of theirs were discovered by Andreas Habernsfield, a nobleman of Bohemia, who declared, that many of the nobility of England, and chief favorites at court, were consenting to these transactions, and particularly the Earl and Countess of Arundel, Secretary Windebank, and Endymion Porter. Con also performed the part of a squire, as all his successors, the Pope's Nuncios that came after him, did likewise; and had formerly offered a Cardinal's cap to the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, in the Pope's name.

In the year 1640, and the sixteenth of the King, a parliament was called at Westminster, April 13, in which the Earl of Strafford was highly honoured for his good service in Ireland, in obtaining four subsidies, to maintain ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. And that England might follow this example, the King tells the parliament, that if they would supply him, so as to suppress the insolencies of the Scots, he would acquit his claim to ship-money, and give satisfaction to their just demands. By which proposals the parliament were sensible of the King's necessities, and therefore required; satisfaction. 1. For clearing the property of the subject. 2. For establishing the true religion. 3. For privilege of Parliament.

But whilst they were debating whether the grievances of the people or the King's supply should be first considered, and matters were in an hopeful posture, secretary Vane, either accidentally or on purpose, overthrew all at once, by declaring that the King required twelve subsidies, whereas he at that time only required six, which so much enraged the house, and made things so ill that by the advice of the Juncto, the parliament was dissolved, having only sat twenty two days; however the privy council likewise advised their dissolving, being assured the heats in the house of Commons were so great, that they intended that very day to have voted against the war with Scotland; whereby the King would have been in a worse condition than before their sitting.

About the same time a convocation of bishops sat, with commission to make such canons as they judged for the peace of the Church; and amongst other things, they imposed an oath called, &c. (*Et cetera*) as an anti-covenant against the Scots; which because it occasioned much difference, may not be unfitly inserted.

1. A. B. do swear, that I do approve the doctrine and discipline, or government established in the church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation; and that I will not endeavour, by myself, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish doctrine, contrary to that so established; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this church by Archbishops, Deans, and Arch-Deacons, ——— &c. (*Et cætera*, and so forth) as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the See of Rome: And all these things do I plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense or understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I do, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the faith of a christian. So help me God in Jesus Christ. This oath was imposed upon all ministers, and was excepted against for three reasons. 1. Because the (*Et cetera*) did leave the oath so loose, that neither the makers nor takers thereof, understood the same. 2. For that exacting an oath of dissent from civil establishment in things of

indifferency, was very fundamental. 3. And juror therein de-willingly to constrained un-penalties. This siness of this con-dended, May 26,

Archbishop earnest proceed-conformists, and ed puritans, and joyning of cere-ally reviving old which had not served, procured himself from the larly the Lon-a particular dis-for his severity ton, Pryn, and



DR. BASTWICK.

much, that upon May 9, 1640, a paper was fixed upon the Royal Exchange, inciting the apprentices to rise, and sack his house, at

an affront to the tals of govern-lastly, that the clares he swears which he was der the highest was the chief bu-vocation, which 1640.

Laud, by his ings against non-such as were call-by his strict en-monies, especicereemonies, been lately ob-much hatred to people, particu-doners, who had gust against him upon Mr. Bur-

Bastwick; inso-

Lambeth the Monday after; which they were the more inclined to do, because it was reported that he was the chief instigator of the king to dissolve the last parliament; but the Archbishop had notice of their design, and cordingly; upon Monday night, about of them beset and endeavored, but pulsed, and part; having sure vented in words,



provided however, day at mid-five hundred his house, vowed to were re- forced to de- in some mea- their spleen and breaking

his glass windows. The next day many of them were apprehended, and imprisoned, but three days after, they were forcibly rescued from thence by their companions, who broke open the prison doors; for which one of the ring-leaders was drawn, hanged and quartered, and his head and quarters set upon London Bridge.

The king grew daily more offended against the Scots, and calls a select juncto to consult about them, where the Earl of Stafford delivered his mind in such terms, as were afterward made use of to his destruction. War against them was resolved on, and money was to be procured one way or other; the City of London was invited to lend, but refused, and pleaded poverty, being distasted in seems at some proceedings in the Star chamber, about their plantation of London-Derry in Ireland, which was judged to be forfeited for some alledged misdemeanors, and the undertakers fined; yet the citizens were willing to offer a large sum, for the building a magnificent palace for the king in St. James's Park, which took no effect. The gentry contributed indifferently freely; so that with their assistance, the royal army was completed, the king himself being generalissimo, the earl of Northumberland, general, and the earl of Strafford, lieutenant-general; Northumberland falls sick, and therefore the king takes the command upon himself, and sends away part of the army, horse and foot, under the Lord Conway into the north. July 20, 1640, the queen was delivered of a son, who was christened Henry, afterward created Duke of Gloucester. In the mean time the Lord Conway had but ill success, for having drawn about one thousand two hundred horse, and three thousand foot to secure the passes upon the river Tyne, the Scotch Army under their general Lesly advanced thither, better provided than before; and August 27, Lesly desired leave of the Lord Conway, for

his whole army to pass to the king with their petition, which was denied : whereupon about three hundred Scotch horse attempted to pass the river, but were beaten back by the English Musquetiers, who were placed under a breast work.

Lesly comes on with his horse, and charges commissary general Wilmot, who maintained the ground very stoutly till overborn with multitude and canon, they were put to a disorderly retreat, both horse and foot ; upon which the Lord Conway hastes to the king with the unwelcome news ; Sir Jacob Astly, governor of Newcastle finding himself unable to defend the place, deserts it, sinking the great guns in the river, whereby Newcastle and Durham came in a short time into the hands of the Scots. And now Strafford comes up, with whom the king retreats to York, and stays there while Strafford, who was now sole commander, charges the whole miscarriage upon Conway, who as stoutly denies it.

The king had formerly declared the Scots to be rebels and traitors, by proclamation, and commanded that public prayers should be put up against them in all churches, but at this time he is contented to treat with them ; and to that end he receives a petition from them complaining of their grievances : to which he answers by his secretary of Scotland, that he expects their particular demands, which he receives in three days, all tending to require a parliament to be called in England, without which, there could be no satisfactory redress for them ; they had likewise before their march into England published a declaration called, the Intentions of the Army, viz. Not to lay down arms till the reformed religion were settled in both nations upon sure grounds, and the causes and abettors of their present troubles, that is, archbishop Laud, and the Earl of Strafford, were brought to public justice in parliament. At the same time, twelve English peers, that is, the Earls of Bedford, Hartford, Essex, Warwick, Mulgrave, Bristol, Bullingbrook, Say and Seal, Mandevil, Howard, Brook and Paget, drew up a petition, which they delivered to the king, for the sitting of the parliament : after which divers others were presented to the same purpose from the City of London, and several other parts of the kingdom, all centring in this, that nothing could relieve the pressures of the kingdom but a parliament.

To this, the king condescends in part, giving hopes likewise of further satisfaction ere long ; and for the present summons the lords to appear at York, September 24, which they did, and upon the first day of their meeting it was agreed, that the parliament should be called to meet November 3 following, and then, (for the relief of the north sorely suffering under Lesly's army, the bishoprick of Durham being then taxed

three hundred pounds; and Northumberland three hundred pounds a day) it was resolved, that a treaty should be set on foot, and that sixteen English lords should meet with as many Scots, and York was proposed for the place of treaty, which the Scottish commissioners refused, as not judging it safe, by reason of the presence of the Earl of Strafford, who had proclaimed them traitors in Ireland, and was now chief commander of the king's army, and a capital enemy to their nation, and against whom they had matter of high complaint; therefore it was concluded to be held at Rippon, where among other things it was agreed, that the Scottish army should be maintained by the English, till the treaty was ended, and peace secured; that there should be a safe convoy for all letters between the Scots and the parliament of England. The first of these articles seemed unreasonable and dishonourable to the English nation: and the Earl of Strafford was so offended thereat, that he desired leave of the king to give them battle, and was willing (as he writ to Archbishop Laud) to undertake upon the peril of his head with his army of English grasshoppers, to beat those Sons of Anak home again, for so much superior were the Scots then accounted to the English, as to matter of Soldiers; but October 16, the English commanders, whether through fear, favour, or out of a political maxim not to fight against the Scots, condescended to articles of agreement, which were afterward signed by the king himself.

This treaty of Rippon was but previous to another of higher importance at London, for a general concluding and making up all differences between the king and his subjects of Scotland; during which treaty, James, Earl of Montross, made several applications to the king, and by letters offered his service to him, testifying his dislike of the Scottish proceedings; but these his letters were said to have been secretly taken out of the king's pockets, and conveyed to the covenanters by the means of Hamilton; who understanding Montross' design, used all means to render him odious to the people, and so unserviceable to the king.

And now the time approaching for the sitting of the parliament, who accordingly met, November 3, 1640, which was looked upon by Archbishop Laud as a fatal day for summoning of parliaments, in reference to church matters; the parliament in king Henry the Eighth's time, which pulled down abbeys and monasteries, being likewise assembled upon November 3. Whereupon he advised the king for luck's sake to put off their meeting for two or three days, but the king not minding any such observations, did not regard it.

To give some account of the temper of those times it may not be amiss to repeat the words of a person of honour, who was then a member of the House of Commons, and hath lately published some passages concerning that parliament.

‘ Never parliament (saith he) was assembled when the people were in an higher discontent than at this time; such a general diffidence there was, as they thought themselves sure of nothing; the increase of ceremonies made them fear the approach of a religion hateful to them; the late business of ship-money, together with some impositions without the consent of parliament, caused them to apprehend the loss of property in their estates, and they had little hope of redress by parliaments, because his then Majesty had been so unhappy as to be put upon a sudden dissolution of all parliaments, formerly by him called: There wanted not persons ill disposed, and seditious to trumpet these things in the ears of the generality, whereby they incensed them so far, as thereby they found means to raise a power against their sovereign.’

Mr. William Lenthall was chosen speaker of the House of Commons, and the King in a speech tells them that the Scottish troubles were the cause of their present meeting, and therefore requires them to consider of the most expedient means for casting them out, and then promises that he will heartily and clearly concur with them for the satisfying their just Grievances: after which, he gave them an account of his want of money for the maintaining of his army, and how dishonourable it would be to the English nation, if his army should be disbanded before the Scots were put out of the Kingdom; and desired them to consider of the oppression of the northern countries during the treaty.

It was ill resented by many that the King should call the Scots rebels, whereupon he took occasion to tell them that he must needs call them rebels, as long as they have an army which did invade England. The Commons then voted down all monopolies, and all such members as had any benefit by them were expelled out of the house; complaint was made in the house of lords against Sir William Beecher, one of the clerks of the council, for violating their privileges, in searching the Earl of Warwick's, and the Lord Brook's studies, cabinets and pockets, upon the dissolving the last parliament; upon which he was committed prisoner to the Fleet, though he pleaded the command of the secretary of state for his so doing. The Earl of Strafford is impeached of high treason by the Commons in the house of Lords, whereupon he is sequestered from the House, and likewise his friend Sir George Ratcliff is sent for out of Ireland by a serjeant at

Arms: in the mean time the Bishop of Lincoln, who was Prisoner in the Tower is released; and likewise Mr. Pryn and Mr. Burton, who are brought in London; and presented their Prosecutors. Papists begin to Justice Howard a catalogue of within the liberster, to prevent stabbed by one in Westminster he was imprisoned in order to punishment: but debank, secretary to be called to Parliament forre-and priests, would be produced if not worse privately into



MR. BURTON.

great triumph to December 3 they Petition against

And now the fear a cloud, for was to deliver up all recusants ties of Westminster which he was Mr. John James Hall; for which soned in the Gate a more severe Sir Francis Winof state, fearing account by the prieving Jesuits which he knew ced against him, matters, fled France. Decem-

ber 7th, the Commons voted the opinion of the judges upon ship-money, to be illegal; and a charge of High-treason was ordered to be drawn up against eight of them; and they resolved to begin with the lord keeper Finch. December 11th alderman Pennington and some hundreds of citizens presented a petition, subscribed by 15,000 hands; against church discipline and ceremonies, and awhile after the house of Commons voted that the clergy in a synod or convocations have no power to make canons or laws without parliaments; and that the canons are against the fundamental laws of this realm, the king's prerogative, the property of the subject, the right of parliaments, and tend to faction and sedition.

In pursuance hereof a charge was ordered to be drawn up against Arch-bishop Laud as the principal framer of those Canons, and other delinquencies; which impeachment was seconded by another from the Scotch commissioners; upon which he was committed to the black rod, and ten weeks after voted guilty of high treason, and sent to the Tower, the Scots likewise prefer a charge against the Earl of Strafford then in custody, requiring justice against them both, as the great incendiaries and disturbers of church and state, and Sir George Ratcliff, the Earl's bosom friend, had articles drawn against him to this purpose.

That he had conspired with the Earl to bring Ireland under an arbitrary government, and to subvert the fundamental laws, and to bring an army from Ireland to subdue the subjects of England. That he persuaded the Earl to use regal power, and to deprive the subjects of their liberties and properties. That he countenanced papists, and built Monasteries, to alienate the affections of the Irish from England. That he withdrew the subjects of Scotland from their King. And lastly, that to preserve himself and the Earl of Strafford, he laboured to subvert the liberties and privileges of parliament in Ireland.

The Lord Keeper Finch was the next person designed to be censured, and notwithstanding a speech was made in his own vindication, he was voted a traitor upon several accounts; and among the rest, for soliciting, persuading, and threatening the judges to deliver their opinions for raising ship-money, and for several ill offices done in moving the King to dissolve the last parliament, and causing the publishing the King's declaration thereupon. Next day he was accused before the lords, but he foresaw the storm, and went over into Holland.

The parliament having now removed their enemies, and increasing in reputation, were designing a bill for a triennial parliament; for promoting which, petitions came from divers places, one whereof was subscribed with eight hundred hands directly against episcopacy, which the King took notice of, and calling both houses together tells them, of their slowness, and the charge of two armies in the kingdom, and that he would have them avoid two rocks, the one about the hierarchy of bishops, which he was willing to reform but not to alter; the other concerning frequent parliaments, which he liked well, but not to give his power to sheriffs and constables.

About this time one Goodman, a Popish priest, condemned at the sessions in London, was reprieved by the King, upon which both houses petitioned to know who were the instruments of it; and receiving an unsatisfactory answer, they remonstrated against the toleration of Papists, and the Pope's nuncio Rosetti, and this Goodman, whom they desired might be left to the justice of the law, to this the King answers, that the increase of popery and papists in his dominions, is extremely against his mind, and that he would use all possible means for the restraining of it: as for the Pope's nuncio Rosetti, he had no commission, but to preserve correspondence between the Queen and the Pope, which was allowed by the articles of marriage, however he had prevailed with her to remove him, and is contented to remit the particular case of Goodman to both houses.

The Scots had been now quartered in England five months, during which a cessation had been concluded at Rippon, but the full pacifica-

tion was reserved for London, where commissioners sat on both parties to hear the demands of the Scots, and to make answer thereunto. After which the Scots presented the great account of their charges, which was five hundred and fourteen thousand, one hundred twenty eight pounds nine shillings, besides the loss of their nation, which was four hundred and forty thousand pounds. This reckoning startled the English commissioners, till the Scots told them, they did not give in that account as expecting a total reparation of their charges and losses, but were content to bear a part of it; hoping for the rest, from the justice and kindness of England. There was some opposition made to the demands, however monies were raised for the present from the City of London, for the supply of both the northern armies, as the parliament had done once before.

At this time a match was propounded between the young Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to the King, which his majesty liked well of, and communicated it to the parliament; with whom it found an unanimous and general reception, in regard of the alliance to be concluded thereupon with the States General; and likewise that he was of the same protestant religion with England, so that the marriage was soon concluded.

Presently after four members of the commons delivered a message to the lords of a popish design of levying an army of fifteen thousand in Lancashire, and eight thousand in Ireland, and that the main promoters thereof were the Earls of Strafford and Worcester.

In February, sir Robert Berkly, one of the judges about ship-money, was accused of high treason, and committed prisoner to the black rod. In this month the King passed that act for a triennial parliament, and to let them know what value he put upon this great favour, his majesty told the two houses, that hitherto they had gone on in those things which concerned themselves, and now he expected they should proceed upon what concerned him.

The King then likewise signed the bill of subsidies, which gave them such universal content, that Sir Edward Littleton, Lord Keeper, was ordered to return the humble thanks of both houses to his majesty at Whitehall. Upon which there were bonfires and bells ringing in and about London, in the same manner as formerly upon granting the petition of right.

March 1, 1640, Archbishop Laud upon an accusation of high treason by the commons, was committed to the Tower: and now episcopacy itself was called in question, and though the lord Digby made a witty and weighty speech in defence of it, and Arch-bishop Usher gave his judgment for the moderation and emendation of it and

the liturgy, not the extirpation thereof, yet the wings of episcopacy were shrewdly clipt, for March 10, the commons voted, that no bishop should have any vote in parliament, nor any judicial power in the star-chamber, nor be concerned in any temporal matters; and that no clergyman should be a justice of peace.

Upon Monday, March 26, 1640. the Earl of Strafford's trial began in Westminster-hall, the King, Queen and Prince being present; and the Commons likewise being there as a committee at the managing their accusation; the Earl of Arundel was Lord high steward, and the Earl of Lindsey lord high constable, the Earl of Strafford though he had but short warning, yet had gotten his defence ready against the time. The accusations was managed by Mr. Pym, consisting of twenty eight articles, to most of which the Earl made particular replies.

But the Commons were resolved to prosecute him to the utmost, and had therefore procured the Parliament of Ireland to prosecute him there also, as guilty of high treason; which being unexpectedly produced, extorted from the Earl this passionate expression, that there was a conspiracy against him to take away his life. At which the Commons cried out against him, That standing impeached of high treason, he durst accuse the Parliament of two Kingdoms of conspiracy against him. But besides all these, certain notes produced against him which were taken by Sir H. Vane in a close committee of select councillors, whom the King had chosen to consult about his second expedition against the Scots; out of which it was alledged against the Earl, that he had given the King advice to borrow an hundred thousand pounds of the city of London, to levy ship-money rigorously; and that his Majesty having tried the affection of his people, was absolved and loosed from all rules of government, and might do what power would admit; and having an army in Ireland, might employ it for the reducing of this Kingdom, which he was sure could not hold out five months: And London being full of the nobility, the commission of array, was to be set on foot, and all opposers thereof to be severely dealt with.

To this the Earl replied, ' That he conceived it lawful for a privy councillor to have freedom of voting with others and as to the matter of the English army, he thought that the single testimony of one man (Secretary Vane) was not of validity in law, much less in life and death, and that the depositions of Secretary Vane were doubtful, as appeared by several examinations, and that there were present at the debate but eight privy councillors, whereof two were not to be produced, and four others declared upon their honours that they

‘ never heard him speak those words, or any like them ; and lastly, that if he had spoken them (which he yet granted not) that the word this Kingdom, could not imply England, the debate being concerning Scotland, there being not the least intention of lauding the Irish army in England ; and concluded his defence with telling the lords, that he was accused as guilty of treason for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the land, but it seemed strange to him that it should be treason together which was not treason in any part ; and lastly desired the Lords to consider how their own privileges, and other ministers of state, would suffer by his condemnation.

The Commons must now justify their charge by law, to which end they produced the salvo annexed to the stat. of 25 Ed. 3. The words were these, because all particular treasons could not be then defined ; therefore what the Parliament should declare to be treason in time to come should be punished as treason ; and so this salvo was to be the ground work of the bill of attainder. This being a point of law, the Earl had council allowed him, who answered on his behalf, that the statute which they cited was but a declaration and a penal law, and would no way admit of such consequential and inferential constructions, and that this salvo was repealed by an act of Parliament in the sixth of Henry the fourth. And so the court adjourned without prefixing any time of meeting ; for the Commons proceeded to dispatch their bill of attainder, and April 19, 1641, they voted the Earl guilty of high treason, upon the evidence of Secretary Vane and his notes ; and upon the 25th, they passed the bill and sent it to the Lords for their concurrence, to whom it seemed at first so perplext a business, that the Commons were forced to send Mr. Saint John, the King’s solicitor, to confer with them about it, who gave them such satisfaction, that thence forward they shewed greater propensity to the Earl’s condemnation.

In the mean time the Commons petitioned the King, 1. to remove all Papists from court. 2. For disbanding the Irish army. To which the king answered. 1. They all knew what legal trust the crown hath in that particular, therefore he shall not need to say any thing to assure them that he shall use it so, as there shall be no just cause of scandal. 2. As for the second, he is content it shall be done by law ; and for the last, he had entered into consultation about it, finding many difficulties therein, and doth so wish the disbanding of all armies, as he did conjure them speedily and heartily to join with him in disbanding these two here, Scots and English.

The house of Commons having finished their bill of attainder against the E. of Strafford, and the king fearing the conclusion, and being willing to do some good office to him, his Majesty, May 1, 1641,

calls both houses together, and in a speech tells them, that he had been present at the hearing of that great cause, and that in his conscience, positively he could not condemn him of high treason, and yet could not clear him of misdemeanours; but hoped a way might be found out to satisfy justice and their fears, without oppressing his conscience. And so he dismissed them to their great discontent, which was propagated so far, that May 3, near a thousand citizens, most of them armed with swords, cudgels, and staves, came thronging down to Westminster, crying out for justice against the Earl of Strafford; especially applying themselves to the Earl of Montgomery, lord chamberlain, by whose persuasions and promises their fury was partly abated: however they posted upon the gate at Westminster a list of the names of those who would have acquitted the Earl, whom they stiled Straffordians.

The parliament being informed that some endeavours were used, to raise a disgust in the English northern army against their proceedings, they now enter into a national protestation to maintain with life, power and estate the true reformed Protestant religion, expressed in the doctrine of the church of England, against all Popery and Popish innovations: which was ordered to be printed and published through the kingdom

May 5, the Lords acquainted the Commons, that they thought it the safest course to lay by the bill of attainder, because it brought in the king for judge, and the next day they debated the several articles of his impeachment, and voted the Earl guilty of high treason upon two of them, that is, the 15th, for levying of monies in Ireland by force, in a warlike manner; and the 16th, for imposing an oath upon the subjects of Ireland.

The Commons had now finished a bill, for the continuance of the parliament; which having passed the Lords, was tendered to the King to be signed; together with the Bill of Attainder. His Majesty answered, that on Monday following he would satisfy them; and on the Sunday before, the King spent the whole day in consulting about the Earl of Strafford with the judges and bishops: the judges told him, that in point of law, (according to the oath made by Sir H. Vane of the Earl's advice, to raise horse to awe this nation) he was guilty of treason. In the evening the five bishops, viz. of Armagh, London, Durham, Lincoln, and Carlisle, were called into the King to satisfy his conscience about it, who all agreed, that the King might shew mercy without any scruple, and that he could not condemn the Earl, if he did not think him guilty: this was to matter of fact, but as to matter of law, he was to rest in the opinion of the judges.

Monday, May 10, the King gives commission to several lords to pass two bills, one the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford; the other, for continuing the parliament, during the pleasure of both houses; which last act was occasioned for satisfying the Scots, who required vast sums of money; and for disbanding both the armies; whereby great taxes were laid upon the people by act of parliament, which could not possibly be levied in a short time, and therefore there needed a present supply from the city of London who (as it was alledged) would not part with their money, least a dissolution of the parliament should happen before payment, upon which account the King was pressed to pass this act.

The same day the bill was passed against the Earl of Strafford, the King sent Sir Dudley Carlton, secretary of state, to acquaint the Earl with what was done and the motives thereto, whereat the Earl was greatly astonished; but the next day the King being troubled, writes a Letter with his own hand to the House of Lords, and sent it by the Prince of Wales, telling them that whereas justice had been satisfied in his condemnation, an intermixture of mercy would not now be unseasonable, and therefore he desired them, that if it might be done without any discontent to the people, the Earl might be permitted to fulfill the natural course of his life in close imprisonment, sequestered from all public affairs, provided he never attempted to make an escape; however he thought it a work of charity to reprieve him till Saturday. But nothing could be obtained in favour of him, but that the Lords said, their intention was to be suitors to his Majesty to shew favour to his innocent children, and that whatever provisions himself had made for them, it might be confirmed.

Some designs were to have been laid for his escape, however May 12, 1641, the Earl of Strafford was conveyed from the Tower by a guard consisting of the trained bands, marshals men, sheriffs officers, and wardens of the Tower. Before him went his gentleman-usher bare headed, and he himself followed, accompanied with the arch-bishop of Armagh and others. As he went along he passed by Arch-bishop Laud's lodging, and spying him at the window he called to him for his prayers and his blessing; but the bishop at the sight of him was so surpriz'd that for some time he could not recollect himself, and being reprehended by his friends of an undecent puffillanimity, he replied; that he doubted not but when that bitter cup should come to his turn, he should taste it with a most christian courage.

The Earl being come to the scaffold upon Tower-hill, addrest himself to the Arch-bishop of Armagh to this effect, that he was come to pay the last debt he owed to sin with a good hope of rising again

to righteousness: that he died willingly, forgave all and submitted to justice: he professed himself guiltless as to the matter for which he died; he wished all prosperity to the King and people; and acquitted him from the guilt of his death, as having acted therein no otherwise than as constrained: he advised his adversaries to repent of their violent proceedings against him; and telling them that he thought it a strange way to write in blood the beginning of reformation and settlement of the kingdom. However he wished that his blood might rest, and not cry against them. He declared, he died in the faith of the church of England for whose happiness he prayed, and concluded his speech with intreating the spectators to pray for him. After which he kneeled down to prayer, and rising up again, took his

last leave of George Went. his friends, love to his blessing to his a most strict his only son, dle with the the church: ing the sign to oner, his head from his body



his brother Sir worth and all sending his wife, and his children; with injunction. to never to medi- patrimony of and then giv- the executi- was severed

at the first stroke.

This was the end of that great and able minister of state, who is reported when he heard the king had consented to the Bill of Attainder to have lift up his eyes to heaven, and clapping his hand upon his heart, to have cried out (perhaps in imitation of cardinal Woolsey's complaint) put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them is no salvation. And indeed it seemed very hard that he should be made guilty of high treason by a bill framed on purpose, without former precedent, and to which his Majesty's consent was in a manner extorted, and which he afterwards bewailed with great remorse of conscience, though it is said the King was not so much convinced by any thing said to him, but the chief motive was a letter from the Earl, wherein he thus concluded:

Sir, (to set your Majesty's conscience at liberty) I do most humbly beseech you, for the preventing of such mischiefs as may happen by your refusal to pass the bill, by this means to remove praised be God (I cannot say this accursed but) this unfortunate thing forth of the way towards that blessed agreement which God I trust shall for ever establish between you and your subjects. My consent herein shall

more acquit you to God, than all the world can do beside : to a willing man there is no injury done.

His character is expressed by the King his master, in his *Eikon Basilike* who said, he looked upon the Earl of Strafford as a gentleman, whose great abilities might make a prince rather afraid than ashamed to employ him in the greatest affairs of state.

The fall of this powerful man so startled other great officers of state, that several resigned their places : about the same time some discontents arose between the Parliament and the English army in the north, but a while after both armies were disbanded. The payment of tunnage and poundage had been much questioned since 1628. But now the King at the request of the Commons was content to relinquish his claim to it, and afterwards passed a bill for pole-money, and two others for putting down the star-chamber and high commission courts ; which had proceeded with too much severity, having so far outgrown the power of the law, that they would not be limited nor guided by it.

July 5. A charge was brought into the house of Commons against Dr. Wren bishop of Ely, being accused of some treasonable misdemeanors in his diocese ; who thereupon voted him unworthy and unfit to hold or exercise any office of dignity in church or state, and desired the Lords to join with them, to request the King for his removal from his service ; and so he was committed to the Tower, and about the same time the writs for ship-money, and all the proceedings therein were by the King's consent judged, and five of the judges that gave their opinions for it, were impeached of high misdemeanor ; that is Bramston, Trevor, Weston, Davenport, and Crawly ; and Berkly another of the judges was accused for treason, but no further prosecution was made therein.

August 6. Both the English and Scots armies were disbanded, and four days after the King went toward Scotland and was entertained with great demonstration of affection by that nation, and conferred several places of honour and power upon divers of them ; confirming likewise the treaty between the two nations by act of parliament.

October 23, 1641, a horrid and notorious rebellion broke out in Ireland which was managed with such secrecy, that it was not discovered till the night before it was to have been put in execution ; which was in divers places carried on with such fury, that two hundred thousand English men, women, and children were in a short space barbarously murdered by all manner of most cruel torments that their devilish minds could invent. And this was chiefly occasioned by the instigation of the Irish popish priests, monks and friars, who every where declaimed loudly against the protestants, saying, that they were

hereticks and not to be suffered any longer to live amongst them, that it was no more sin to kill one of them then to kill a dog; and that it was a mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or protect any of them. Yea the priests gave the sacrament to divers of the Irish, upon condition they should spare neither man, woman nor child of the protestants, saying that it did them a great deal of good to wash their hands in their blood: and that they were worse than dogs; and if any of them died in the quarrel before their bodies were cold their souls should be in heaven without ever calling in at purgatory by the way.

This bloody rebellion happened in a time wherein the Irish had all the privileges and liberty they could reasonably expect, and the ancient hatred which the Irish had born to the English, did now seem to be forgotten, forty years of peace having compacted and cemented them together, both by alliances and marriages, which were all now miserably broken and destroyed. The Castle of Dublin, wherein were ten thousand arms and all other forts and magazines in the kingdom, were to have been surprized, and all the English protestants that would not join with them, were to be murdered, but the seizing of the castle was happily prevented by one Owen Conally; from some discourse accidentally in a tavern with one Hugh Mac Mahon, grandson to the great Earl of Tyrone the night before the intended execution.

Upon this discovery, Mac Mahon and lord Mac Guire, were seized by the lords chief justices of Ireland, and many principal conspirators escaped that night out of Dublin, so was Dublin saved, that all Ireland might not be lost in one day. But the horrid design was past prevention as to the general, for the conspirators were in arms at the day appointed in all the counties round about, and poor English protestants daily arrived there, robbed and spoiled of all they had; giving lamentable relation how their houses were seized, the towns and villages fired, and in all parts all manner of cruel outrages and villanies committed. The lords justices Sir William Parsons and Sir John Burlace, taking those arms which they found in Dublin, and arming whom they could to defend themselves, sent Sir Henry Spotswood to the King then in Scotland, with an account of all that happened, who dispatched Sir James Stuart with intructions to the lords of the privy Council in Ireland, and to carry all the money his present stores would supply. He likewise moved the parliament of Scotland (as being nearest) for their assistance, but they excused it, because Ireland was a dependant upon the crown of England; but if the state of England would use any of their men for that service, they would make propositions in order to it. At the same time likewise, the King sent

post to the parliament of England and a while after Owen O'Conally, the first discoverer of the plot, came to London and brought letters to the Earl of Leicester (who was chosen deputy, but not yet gone over) wherein the lords justices desired some reward might be given him; upon which the Parliament voted him a gift of 500*l.* and an annuity of 200*l.* a year, and at a conference of both houses they passed several votes for the relief of Ireland, yet little was done till the King's return from Scotland, which was about the end of November.

The Irish, to dishearten the English from any resistance, bragged, that the Queen was with their army, that the King would come amongst them also, and assist them; that they did but maintain his cause against the Puritans: that they had the King's commission for what they did (shewing indeed a patent themselves had drawn, but thereto was affixed an old broad seal which had been taken from an ancient patent out of Farnham Abby by one Plunket in the presence of many of their lords and priests, as was afterwards attested by the confession of several:) that the Scots were in the confederacy with them; and to seem to confirm this last, they abstained for some time from destroying the estates or murdering any of that nation: and on the other side, to encourage the Irish, they produced pretended letters; wherein they said they were informed from England, that the Parliament had passed an act all the Irish should be compelled to the protestant worship, and for the first offence in refusing, to forfeit all their goods, for the second their estates, and for the third, their lives; and besides this they presented them with the hopes of liberty, that the English yoke should be stricken off; that they should have a King of their own nation, and that then all the goods and estates of the English should be divided amongst them.

With these motives of spoil and liberty, which were strengthened by the former of religion, the rebellion, increased: the rebels in Ulster commanded by Sir Phelim O'Neal, assisted by his brother, the brother of the lord Mac Guire, Philip O'Reley, and several others had possessed most of the strong places in that province; and many others which they could not take by force nor treachery, were delivered to them by the English upon articles, which they afterwards like true (or rather false) papists, most perfidiously broke; butchering and massacring the poor English without pity or compassion to age or sex; though they still spared the Scotch plantations in Ulster, because of their numbers, and likewise for fear of the Scotch army, so easily to be transported to the north parts of Ireland: but now their general Sir Phelim O'Neal (one of the race of the late bloody Earl of Tyrone, &

pretended Protestant till some time before) having got together a vast number of the natives, fell upon them and destroyed their houses and goods; and though they did not exercise that cruelty on their bodies, yet they stripped them and drove them naked to the Scottish shore; from thence he marched into other parts, and took Dundalk incamping at Arde near Tredagh.

The King finding his stay to be longer than he thought, left the whole business of Ireland to the Parliament, who declared a speedy and vigorous assistance, and voted fifty thousand pounds for a present supply. By which time the Lords of the Council of Ireland had armed as many as were able, and given commissions for raising several Regiments, of whom the Earl of Ormond was made Lieutenant Gen. and a Regiment was sent from England under Sir Simon Harcourt; about which time the King returned out of Scotland, and was entertained and feasted at London, and from thence conducted to White-Hall: after which the King treated several chief citizens at Hampton-Court, where divers of the Aldermen had the honour of Knighthood.

December 2. The King summons both Houses together, and tells them, that he had staid in Scotland longer than he expected, yet not fruitlessly, for he had given full satisfaction to that nation; but cannot chuse but take notice of, and wonder at, the unexpected distractions he finds at home; and then commends to them the State of Ireland; next he publishes a proclamation for obedience to the laws, in force concerning Religion, and the performance of divine Service without innovation or abolishing of rites and ceremonies. January 20, His Majesty makes another Speech to them and conjures them by all that is dear to him or them, to hasten the business of Ireland. After which the Commons ordered a select committee to draw up a petition and remonstrance to the King; the petition was this:

Most Gracious Sovereign, your Majesty's most humble and faithful subjects the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do with joy acknowledge the favour of God in your safe return into England where the dangers and distempers of the state have caused them to desire your presence and authority to your Parliament, for preventing of imminent ruin and destruction to your Kingdoms of England and Scotland, fomented by a malignant party, for alteration of religion and government, the increase of popery by the practices of Jesuites, and other engineers and factors of Rome, corrupting the Bishops and privy Council; they being the cause of the late Scottish War and the Irish Rebellion: now for prevention they pray, that your Majesty would concur with your Parliament to deprive the Bishops of their votes, to take away oppression in Religion, Church-Government, and discipline,

to purge your Councils of such as are promoters of these corruptions, and not alienate any Escheated Lands in Ireland by reason of the rebellion; and those being granted, we will make you happy.

This was followed by a large remonstrance containing all the mis-carriages and misfortunes (which they termed pressures) since the beginning of his Majesty's reign, as 1. ' The root and ground of ' these dangers. 2. Their maturity and ripeness. 3. The effectual ' means used for their extirpation, and the progress therein made; ' 4. The obstructions and oppositions interrupting. 5. The best ' means for removing these obstacles, and for accomplishing the Parlia- ' ment's good intentions, for restoring this nation to its ancient renown. ' The actors and promoters of these evils, were described to be, 1. ' The Jesuited papists. 2. The bishops, and corrupted clergy. 3. ' Interested counsellors, and courtiers. The root of the mischief was, ' the malignant party, whose practices were branched into four particu- ' lars: 1. To foment differences and discontents between the King ' and People about prerogative and privilege, for their own advantages, ' 2. To unite and conjoyn Papists, Arminians, and Libertines, and ' out of them all to compose a body sufficient to carry on their designs; ' and 4. To disaffect the King to the Parliament, by slander and by ' putting him upon otherways of supply than by Parliament; and that ' the intentions of these malignants were to subvert the fundamental ' laws and principles of Government: they then charge this malignant ' party more particularly; as chiefly occasioning the dissolution of ' three several Parliaments without relief of grievances. The impri- ' soning and finding several of the members, raising great sums of ' money by loan, privy seals, and excise, and blasting the petitions ' of right, the succesless attempt upon France and Spain, and peace ' made with the Spaniards without consent of Parliament: the loss of ' Rochel occasioned by lending part of our Fleet to the French King, ' deserting the cause of the Palatinate, charging the kingdom with ' billeting Souldiers, and the design of bringing in German horse ' to inslave this nation to arbitrary contributions: lastly they reflect ' upon scandalous declarations published against the Parliament, upon ' injustice, oppression, violence, illegal enlargements of forests, coast, ' and conduct money, corrupt councils and designs, projects, mono- ' polies, illegal proceedings in courts of judicature, and council table; ' charging the bishops likewise with many enormities, particularly for ' contributing to raise an army for constraining the Scots to conform ' to their superstitious ceremonies; concluding with what they have ' done for the reformation of these abuses.'

To their petition the King returned this answer, that he knows not any wicked or malignant persons whom he doth either countenance or employ; that he would concur with his people in a Parliamentary way against all Popish designs, but would not consent to deprive the Bishops of their votes in Parliament; that he judged the power of the Clergy sufficiently moderated by taking away the high commission court, and needing no further abridgment; that he was willing to concur with them for removal of any innovations in religion by a national synod; that he had no Counsellors nor Ministers of State whom he would not at any time expose to trial, and leave to the law, but cannot agree that any others should have the choice of them but himself, that he concurs with them for not altering the forfeited lands in Ireland, but thinks it not reasonable to resolve, before the event of war be seen; and doubts not of their loyal endeavours for the support of his royal state.

In answer to the remonstrance, the King issues out a declaration to his subjects, the sum of which was, that he thought he had given sufficient satisfaction to his people's fears and jealousies, concerning religion, liberty, and civil interest by the bills which he had passed this Parliament: desiring that misunderstandings might be removed on either side, and that the bleeding condition of Ireland might persuade them to unity, for the relief of that unhappy Kingdom.

Not long after happened the insolent tumults of the London Apprentices, who in a riotous manner went to White-hall and Westminster, to the great disturbance of the King; who thereupon commanded the Lord Mayor, and Common Council to keep a double watch and guard; for preventing mischief; and Dec, 28, the King sends a message to the Lords, that he would raise ten thousand volunteers for Ireland, if the Commons would undertake to pay them: on new-years day a proclamation was published against the Irish, declaring, those that were in arms, with all there adherents and abettors, to be rebels and traitors: two days after, the King upon information that the Lord Kimbolton, and five of the House of Commons, viz. Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hamden, and Mr. Stroud, had correspondence with the Scots, and countenanced the late City tumults, he thereupon ordered their trunks, studies and chambers to be sealed up, and their persons seized, the former of which was done, but having timely notice they went aside; upon which the Commons voted the same day, that if any persons shall attempt to seize the persons or papers of any Parliament men, such members shall require the aid of the constable to secure such persons till further order of the House; and that it is lawful for any person to assist the said members, and the said members

may stand upon their guard, and make resistance according to the protestation for defence of the privileges of Parliament.

Hereupon the King charges the Lord Kimbolton and the five members with several articles, and acquaints both Houses, that he did intend to prosecute them for high treason, and required that their persons might be secured : and the next day the King attended with his guard of pensioners, and some hundreds of gentlemen, went to the House of Commons, and the guard staying without, the King with the Palsgrave, entered the House, at whose entrance the Speaker rises out of the chair and the King sitting down therein, views the House round, and perceives the birds he aimed at were flown, for having warning they had withdrawn into London; whereupon he tells them that he came to look for those 5 members whom he had accused of high treason, and was resolved to have them wherever he found them; and expected to have them sent to him as soon as they should come to the House; but would not have them think that this act of his was any violation of Parliament.

This act of the Kings was so highly resented by the House that the next day January 5, the Commons voted it a breach of privilege, and scandals were raised in the City, that he intended violence against the House of Commons, and came thither with force to murder several members, and used threatening speeches against the Parliament; with which the City was so possessed, that unusual guards and watches were set, as if some desperate assault were to be made upon the City, and the House adjourned till the Tuesday following, appointing a Committee in the mean time to sit at Guild-hall to consider of the most effectual means for their security. And then they publish a declaration, that whosoever shall arrest any member of Parliament by warrant from the King only is guilty of the breach of privileges of Parliament and likewise that all those who attend the King when he came to demand the 5 members were guilty of a traiterous design against the King and Parliament, that the proclamation for apprehending and imprisoning the said members, was false, scandalous, and illegal, and not of validity enough to hinder them from attending the House; and that the publishing of the several articles of high treason was a breach of privilege; wherefore they intreat his Majesty, to discover the names of those informers and evil counsellors; declaring all such persons to be publick enemies to the State.

In the mean time the Londoners came thronging to Westminster with petitions, inveighing bitterly against some of the Peers, but especially the Bishops, whom they affronted as they went to the House; upon which they were so affrighted, that twelve Bishops absent themselves

from the House of Lords, drawing up a protestation against all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations, as in themselves null and of none effect; which had passed, or should pass, during their forced absence; desiring their protestation might be entred by the clerk of the House of Peers. Presently after which, at a conference between both Houses, it was agreed, that this protestation of the twelve Bishops, did extend to the deep intrenching upon the fundamental priviledges and being of Parliament; and in a short time they were occused of high treason, seized and brought on their knees at the Lords bar: ten of them were committed to the Tower, and the other two, in regard to their age, to the Black Rod.

The King at this time, thinking himself unsafe without a guard, accepted of the offer of some gentlemen of the Inns of Court to be a guard to him, which instead of security, was by subtil men made more prejudicial to the King, by taking this occasion, to raise the rage and jealousy of the City against him; for at midnight there were cries made in the streets of London, that all people should rise to their defence, for the King, with his papists, were coming to fire the City, and cut their throats in their beds; than which, though nothing were more false, yet it found the effects of truth; and the people by such alarms, being terrified from sleep, the impressions of those night fears lay long upon their spirits in the day, and filled them almost with madness; of which the King complained to the common council of London.

But the Commons, to obviate this, upon suspicion of some design upon their persons, petition the King for a guard, to be commanded by the Earl of Essex, of whose fidelity to the King and State, no question was ever made. This petition was denied by the King, as not willing to have them too strong, yet promised to take such care for their security from violence, as he would for the preservation of himself and Children; and if this general assurance would not suffice to remove those apprehensions, he would command such a guard to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for to Almighty God.

This answer being unsatisfactory, the City join with them, and in their Common Council drew up a petition, complaining, that the trade of the City was decayed, to the utter ruin of the Protestant Religion, and the lives and liberties of the subjects, by the designs of Papists. Foreigners and Domesticks (more particularly their fomenting the Irish rebellion) by changing the constable of the Tower, and making preparations there, by the fortifying of White-hall, and his Majesty's late invasion of the House of Commons. Whereupon they pray, that by the Parliament's advice the Protestants in Ireland may be relieved, the Tower to be put into hands of persons of trust, a guard appointed

for the safety of Parliament; and that the five members may not be restrained nor proceeded against but by the privileges of Parliament. And besides this, the King riding into London, the Citizens in multitudes flocked about his coach, beseeching him, to agree with his Parliament, and not to violate their privileges.

To their petition the King returned answer, that he could not express a greater sense of Ireland then he had done; that merely to satisfy the City, he had removed a worthy person from the charge of the Tower; and that the late tumults had caused him to fortify White-hall, for the security of his own person, that his going to the House of Commons was to apprehend those five members for treason, to which the privileges of Parliament could not extend; and that yet he would proceed against them no otherwise than legally.

And now such numbers of ordinary people daily gathered about Westminster and Whitehall, that the King doubting of their intentions, though fit to withdraw to Hampton Court, taking with him the Queen, Prince, and Duke of York; where he and his retinue and guard quickly increased, by accession of divers of the gentry. But the next day the five members were triumphantly guarded to Westminster by a great number of Citizens and Seamen, with hundreds of boats and barges, with guns in them, shouting and hallowing as they passed by Whitehall, and making large protestations at Westminster of their constant fidelity and adherence to the Parliament. About this time the Parliament had notice the Lord Digby and Colonel Lunsford were raising troops of horse at Kingston, where the county magazine was lodged; whereupon they order, that the County Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, and the trained bands, shall take care to secure the countries and their magazine, and suppress all unlawful assemblies. Lunsford was seized and sent to the Tower, but Digby escaped beyond sea.

The King removed to Royston, at which time Sir Edward Harbert, Attorney General, is questioned at the Lords bar, to answer concerning the articles against the five members; where it had gone hard with him if the King (at his earnest supplication,) had not taken him off by a letter to the Lord Keeper Littleton (who succeeded Lord Finch) wherein the King clears the Attorney General, and takes the whole business upon himself, yet concludes, that finding cause wholly to desist from proceeding against the persons accused, he had commanded his Attorney General to proceed no further therein, nor to produce nor discover any proof concerning the same: and so this breach between the King and Parliament, seemed at present to be made up.

At this time the Scots having a considerable interest in their British plantations in Ireland, make proposals for transporting 2500 soldiers

thither, which were accepted by both Houses, and afterward consented to by the King; after which the Scotch commissioners interposed their meditation for composing the differences between the King and Parliament which were now grown to too great an height, for which Mr. Pym was ordered by the Commons to give them the thanks of the House.

January 20. The King sends a message to the Parliament, proposing the security of his own just rights and royal authority, and, that since particular grievances and distractions were too many, and would be too great to be presented by themselves, that they would comprize and digest them into one entire body, and send them to him; and it should then appear how ready he would be to equal or exceed the greatest examples of the most indulgent princes, in their acts of grace, and favour to the people.

After this the Commons move the Lords to join with them in petitioning for the Militia and the command of the Tower, but they not complying, the House of Commons singly of themselves importune the King to put those things into the hands of the Parliament, as the only available means for removal of their fears and jealousies. But the King, not willing to part with the principal jewels of his Crown, signified to them, that he thought the Militia to be lawfully subject to no command but his own, and therefore would not let it out of his hands, that he had preferred to the Lieutenancy of the Tower, a person of known fortune and unquestionable reputation, and that he would prefer none but such to the command of his forts and castles; yet would not intrust the power of conferring those places and dignities from himself; being derived to him from his ancestors, by the fundamental laws of the Kingdom; yet the Commons would not desist, but again petitioned, and were again refused.

Soon after divers petitions were delivered to the Parliament against the votes of Popish Lords and Bishops in the House of Peers, as one from Suffolk with 1500, and another from the Londoners with 2000 hands, and a third from the City dames; all which were answered, that the Commons had already endeavoured relief from the Lords in their requests, and should so continue till redress were obtained. And shortly after, the Lords passed the bill for disabling all persons in holy orders, to have any place or vote in Parliament, or to exercise any temporal jurisdiction; at the same time they petition the King again for the Militia, and clearing Kimbolton and the five members, by his answer to both which they understood his resolution, not to intrust the Militia out of himself, nor to clear the members but only by a general pardon; which was unsatisfactory.

The King now at Hampton Court, thought fit to send for all his domestick servants of either House of Parliament, and particularly the Earl of Essex and Holland, but they refused to come, excusing themselves with the necessity of performing their duties in Parliament, and discharging the trust reposed in them: for which they were put from their places at Court.

The Lord Digby about this time sent three letters from Middleburg in Zealand (where he was fled out of England) one to the Queen, and two others to secretary Nicholas, and Sir Lewes Dives; signifying, that if the King would openly declare his mind, and betake himself to some place of security, that he might come freely to him, he doubted not but he should do him some acceptable service: these letters were intercepted by the Parliament, and by them after perusal sent to the King, with their intreaties to him, that he would persuade the Queen not to correspond with Digby or any other whom his great council had proclaimed traitors.

There was a report that the Parliament intended to accuse the Queen of high-treason, as one that had so much power with the King to misadvise him; this rumour the Parliament excused, as a publick scandal upon them; which she seemed satisfied with, yet provided against the danger, and therefore prevails with the King to accompany her daughter Mary Princess of Orange into Holland, carrying with her all the Kings and her own jewels, together with those entailed upon the Crown; intending with those, and some other assistance, to raise a party sufficient to maintain the King and his regalities against the Parliament.

In the mean time Mr. Pym at a conference complaining of the general flocking of the papists into Ireland, affirmed, that since the Lieutenant had ordered a stop upon the ports against all Irish papists, many of the chief commanders, now in the head of the rebels, had been licensed to pass thither by his Majesty's immediate warrant. The King was highly offended at this speech, which he signified to the House, who in their answer to his message, justify Mr. Pym's words to be the sense of the House, and that they had yet in safe custody the Lord Delvin, Sir George Hamilton, Colonel Butler, brother to the Lord Miniard, now in rebellion, and one of the Lord Nettervil's sons: to which the King replies, that he thought Mr. Pym's speech was not so well grounded as it ought to have been, and that the aforementioned persons had their passes granted before he knew of the Parliaments order of restraint; and therefore expected their declaration for his vindication from that odious calumny of conniving, or underhand favouring that abhorred Irish rebellion.

But this His Majesty's desire proved fruitless, for they next moved the King to turn out Sir John Byron out of the Lieutenancy of the Tower, and at their nomination Sir John Conyers succeeded; they then proceeded to name fit persons for trust of the Militia of the several counties, and by act of Parliament disabled all clergymen from exercising temporal jurisdiction: after which the King by a message offers them, to require by proclamation all statutes concerning popish recusants to be put in execution. That the seven condemned Popish priests shall be banished, and all Romish priests within twenty days shall depart the Kingdom; that he refers the consideration of church government and liturgy wholly to the Houses, and offers to go himself in person against the rebels in Ireland.

But the Commons were now busy about a petition for vindicating their five members, wherein they desire the King to send them the informers against the said members, or otherwise to desert their prosecution would not suffice; because the whole Parliament was concerned in the charge. And then they proceeded to settle the Militia for the defence of the Parliament, Tower, and City of London, under the command of Sergeant Major Gen. Skippon, who had formerly been an experienced soldier in the Low-Countries: the King had deferred his answer to their petition for settling the Militia of the counties, according to their nomination, till his return from Dover, where he took leave of his wife and daughter, and so returned to Greenwich; from whence he sent to Hampton Court for his two eldest sons to come to him, though contrary to the mind of the Parliament, who would have dissuaded him from it.

And now the Parliament thought fit to consider of the reducing of Ireland, and ordered two millions and an half of those acres to be confiscated, of rebels lands in four provinces shall be allotted to such persons, as will disburse money for carrying on that war, and several other provisions were made for their security; which the King confirms Feb. 26. 1641; and in pursuance thereof a considerable sum of money was raised, the people being generally free in their contributions.

The King being now at Greenwich, sends this answer to the petition about the Militia, that he his willing to condescend to all the proposals concerning the Militia of the counties, and the persons mentioned, but not of London; and other corporations, whose government in that particular, he thought it neither justice nor policy to alter, but would not consent to divest himself of the power of the county Militia for an indefinite time, but for some limited space. This answer did not satisfy, so that the breach growing daily wider, the King declined these parts

and the Parliament, and removed to Thoobalds, taking with him, the Prince, and the Duke of York.

About the beginning of March he receives a petition from the Parliament, wherein they require the Militia more resolutely than before, affirming, that in case of denial, the eminent dangers would constrain them to dispose of it by authority of Parliament; desiring also that he would make his abode near London and the Parliament, and continue the Prince at some of his Houses near the City; for the better carrying on of affairs and preventing the people's jealousies and fears; all which being refused, they presently order, that the Kingdom be put into a posture of defence in such a way as was agreed upon by Parliament, and a committee to prepare a publick declaration from these two heads, 1. The just causes of the fears and jealousies given to the Parliament, at the same time clearing themselves from any jealousies conceived against himself. 2. To consider of all matters arising from his Majesty's message, and what was fit to be done.

And now began our troubles, and all the miseries of a civil war; the Parliament every day entertaining (or pretending to entertain) new jealousies and suspicions of the King's actions, which howsoever in complement they made shew of imputing only to his evil council, yet obliquely had too great a reflection upon his person. They now proceed on a sudden to make great preparations both by sea and land; and the Earl of Northumberland, Admiral of England, is commanded to rig the King's ships and fit them for sea; and likewise all masters and owners of ships were persuaded to do the like. The beacons were repaired, sea-marks set up, and extraordinary posting up and down with pacquets; all sad prognosticks of the calamities ensuing.

The King being now at Royston, March 9, the Earls of Pembroke and Holland bring him the Parliament's declaration, and read it to him; wherein they represent to him some former miscarriages: as the attempts to incense the late Northern army against the Parliament, the Scottish troubles, L. Jermin's treason and transportation by the King's warrant, the petition delivered to Captain Leg, with the King's own hand, with the direction signed C. R. The business of the Lord Kimbolton and the five members. The suspicious designing a guard about his person, and underhand promoting the Irish rebellion. The ordering Sir John Pennington to land Lord Digby beyond sea; from thence to alienate the King from his Parliament, and to procure foreign forces for his assistance; which now (said they) appeared more credible by reason of his removal with the Prince, and the manifold advertisements from Rome, Venice, Paris, and other parts, certifying that the Pope's Nuncio had solicited the Kings of France and Spain, to lend his Majesty 4000 men.

apiece in reference to some design against religion and the Parliament; and lastly, they desire him to turn away his wicked counsellors and to rely upon his Parliament, which if he would do, they would sacrifice their lives, fortunes, and utmost endeavours to the supportation of his Sovereignty.

After the reading of the declaration, the Lords would have persuaded the King to come near the Parliament, and to grant the Militia for a time; which his Majesty refused and told them in short, that their fears, and doubts and jealousies were such as he would take time to satisfy the whole world of; but that his own doubts were not trivial, occasioned by so many scandalous pamphlets, and seditious sermons; divers publick tumults hitherto unacquied into, and unpunished; and some time after the King published a declaration to the people, in answer to theirs; the sum of which was:

‘ That he had no evil Counsellors about him, but leaves such to their censure where they should find them. That he desired the judgements of Heaven might be manifest upon those who had any design against the Protestant profession. That the Scottish troubles were buried in perpetual silence by the Act of Oblivion, and passed in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms. That they charging him with any inclining to the Irish rebels, was a high and causeless injury to his royal reputation: That he never intended to exasperate the late army, or in any wise to use them against the Parliament, That Captain Leg’s petition was brought to him, subscribed by the officers of the army, desiring that the Parliament might not be hindered from reforming the Church and State to the model of Queen Elizabeth’s days; and was advantageous to them: and to assure Sir Jacob Ashly of his opinion therein, he writ C. R. That the Lord Digby and Mr. Jermin, neither were at White-hall, nor had any warrant from him after the restraint. That he had given sufficient answer about Kimbolton and the five members, that the care of his own safety caused him to raise a guard at White-hall, and to receive the loyal tender, which the gentlemen of the Inns of Court did make him of their service. And that he looked upon their foreign advertisement by them mentioned, as merely wild and irrational.’

The King goes further Northward, whilst the Parliament voted the ordinance for defence of the Kingdom not to be prejudicial to the oath of Allegiance, but to be obeyed as the fundamental laws; and that the King’s commands for Lieutenantcy over the several counties were illegal and void; but he coming to Huntington sends them a message, March 18. That he intends to make his residence at York, desires them to hasten their motions for Ireland, and not upon any pretence of

order or ordinance (to which he is not a party) of the Militia, or any other thing, to do or execute against the laws, which he himself was to keep, and his subjects to obey, declaring his subjects not to be obliged to obey any act, order, or injunction to which he hath not given consent: in answer to which, they resolve; that the absence of the King so far from his Parliament, was destructive to the relief of Ireland; and therefore all those counsellors which advised him to it, are to be suspected as favourers of that bloody rebellion, as likewise those who persuaded his Majesty to question or contradict their votes, which was a high breach of privilege of Parliament.

March 16. The King at Stamford published a proclamation for putting the laws in execution against Popish recusants; and from thence he goes to York, and there March 24, repeals his grant for passing the Bill against Tonnage and Poundage, of June 22 last past, commanding the payment thereof for the future, according to the Act of the First of King James; and so this year ended.

It was now the year 1642, and the 18th of his Majesty's Reign, when a fresh difference arose; for the Earl of Northumberland, Admiral of England, being indisposed, the King ordered Sir John Pennington, Vice Admiral, to take the charge of the summer fleet for the Narrow Seas; but the Parliament earnestly desired that it might be conferred upon the Earl of Warwick, but were refused by the King, to their great distaste. During the assizes at York, the gentry, ministers and freeholders of that County, presented a petition to the King, to endeavour an agreement with the Parliament, who advises them to apply themselves to the Parliament for the good of all. And next day he sends a message to the Houses. 'That he intended to raise his guard out of the Counties near Chester, two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, to be supplied with arms from the magazine at Hull, upon taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, that if the Parliament's undertaking for the Irish war would not suffice to defray the charges of raising and paying them, he would pawn or sell his land or houses; desiring them withal, to quicken their levies for Munster and Connaught, as the Scots already did theirs of Ulster; and offers his person against the rebels.'

The Parliament having for some time mistrusted the King's going North, to be intended for seizing the magazine at Hull, endeavoured to prevent it, declaring their suspicion of his design to raise an army, and therefore pray, 'That it might be removed from thence to the Tower of London, as a place of more safety, and easier transport for Ireland; and that the reprieve for the Popish priests in Newgate may be recalled, and they executed.' And to make all sure, Sir

John Hotham, a member of the House of Commons, is sent down to take upon him the government of that place, who by his sudden coming thither, prevented the Earl of Newcastle, who was designed by the King to be governor thereof; so that when the King came to Hull in person, with his guard consisting of lords and gentlemen, April 23, 1642, he finds the gates shut upon him, and the bridges drawn up; but from the wall Hotham appears, and upon his knees intreats his Majesty not to command that, which without a breach of his trust, he could not yield obedience to.

Whereupon the King finding his entrance prevented, caused Hotham instantly to be proclaimed a traitor; and by letters to the Parliament, complained of that indignity, and required satisfaction; but they justified him therein, and sent a committee of the Lords and Commons to reside there, for the better securing the garrison to them, and gave the governor power to raise the trained bands for his defence; after which the King hearing that the Parliament had raised a guard of themselves without his consent, and reflecting on the business of Hotham; he summoned the gentry of Yorkshire to a meeting; and acquainted them, 'That his magazine at Hull was going to be taken from him against his will, the Militia against the law and his consent, put in execution, and Sir John Hotham's treason countenanced, so that he was resolved to have a guard to secure his person; in which he desired their assistance, that he may be able to protect them, the laws, and the true Protestant religion from violation or injury.'

The King had hereby indifferently strengthened himself, and more had come in had not those members of Parliament who came to the King at York, prevailed with some of the freeholders to protest against it. And the Parliament declare. 'That the subjects unless bound to it by special service, could not be commanded to attend the King at his pleasure, without transgressing against the laws and liberties of the Kingdom. And that whosoever upon pretence of his Majesty's command, shall take up arms in a warlike manner, shall be esteemed disturbers of the peace, and to be proceeded against accordingly.'

In the mean while Sir Thomas Gardiner, who had been Recorder of London for six years, being impeached by the Parliament, and in danger of hanging, was glad to shift for himself, and by flight escaped to the King; at which time his Majesty endeavoured to have removed the term from London to York, but was much opposed therein by the Parliament, who voted it illegal, and forbid the Lord Keeper to issue out writs or seal any proclamation to that purpose. The Parliament now proceed to put the people into a military posture; requiring all persons in authority to put the late ordinance of the Militia in execu-

tion, which the King by his proclamation forbids; but for the people's satisfaction the Parliament published a severe declaration to the same effect as their former remonstrance; only this was added, 'That the King at his being in Scotland had countenanced the Irish in their rebellious designs, and that his connivance was manifested by his tedious with-holding the proclamation, whereby they were declared traitors till January 2, being almost a quarter of a year after the breaking out of the rebellion, and then had appointed but forty copies to be printed, and none of them to be published without his pleasure signified; whereas his proclamations against the Scots had been dispersed throughout all the Kingdom with public prayers and exhortations.'

The King makes a speedy answer hereunto, not much differing from what he had said before; yet tells them, 'That as to the business of the Irish, his council in Ireland had desired them no sooner, nor so many copies by twenty as he had signed and sent them. His Majesty had written a Letter to his privy council of Scotland, to take away from them all suspicion of those imputations so frequently laid to his charge, of being Popishly affected, to be guilty of the bloodshed in Ireland, and to bring in foreign forces;' wherewith they seemed so satisfied, that they returned a most respectful answer, and presently interposed their mediation to heal the breach before it grew wider; humbly desiring the King to hearken to his Parliament, as his greatest, his best, and most unparalleled council; and discouraging him from any personal journey into Ireland. This message was sent by the Earl of Loudon, Chancellor of Scotland, and after this the Scots petition to the King's Privy Council there, not to meddle with any verbal or real engagement for the King against the Parliament. Hereupon the English Parliament publish a protestation, wherein they vindicate their own proceedings: and declare the great sense they had of the affection of their Scottish brethren manifested unto them in so many particulars, and more especially the mentioned petition.

The Earl of Bristol, an old experienced statesman, prudently foresaw that such unhappy beginnings must necessarily have a very bad issue, and therefore earnestly endeavoured an accommodation by stating the case in the House of Lords; representing the offers of the King on the one side, and the professions of the Parliament on the other; and likewise the dreadful effects of a civil war (then likely to ensue) by the example of the woeful desolations in Germany, and the expensive troubles in Scotland; and then proposes some methods for preventing these dangers: as 1. 'That a select Committee of Parliament should truly state the matters in difference with the most probable ways of

reconciling them. 2. To consider particularly what may be expected, either in point of supporting the King, or relieving his people: and lastly, how the conditions agreed upon may be secured. And to shew the necessity of this course; he discovers the deplorable state of Ireland, the debts and necessities of the Crown, the distractions which were likely to produce confusion of religion, most dangerous and destructive to a State, besides the general distraction of the subjects, who between commands and countermands, knew not whom to obey.' This was admitted as good and solid reason, but divine justice would not so permit the sins of the English nation to go unpunished, and the Lord Bristol's speech, though well received yet proved ineffectual.

In the mean time the King's guard increases at York, which the House voted a preparation for war against the Parliament, a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, and that all such as serve him there are traitors to the laws of the Kingdom, as the 11 Rich. 2, and 1 Hen. 3. This was followed by another declaration or remonstrance of the misactions of the King, and their own privileges, which the King answers and they again reply to; and May 28, the Parliament ordain, that all Sheriffs, Justices, &c. make stay of all arms and ammunition going to the King at York; the King on the other side forbids all persons belonging to the Trained Bands or Militia of the Kingdom, to obey any order or ordinance of any of the Houses; divers members of both Houses withdrew themselves to the King, as being unsatisfied with their proceedings; whereupon the Parliament ordered that all such as did not make their personal appearance by June 16 ensuing, should be fined an 100 pounds towards the Irish wars, such only excepted as were employed by the Parliament.

They likewise understood that the Queen had pawned the Crown jewels in Holland, for money to be transported to the King; which to prevent him of, they order, that whoever hath, or shall pay, lend, send or bring any money in specie into this Kingdom, for or upon those jewels; or accept of any bill hereafter, shall be an enemy to the State:

June 2. The Parliament sent to the King nineteen propositions: 1. That all the King's Privy Council, great officers and ministers of state, may be put out, except such as the Parliament shall approve; and that an oath be tendered them. 2. That all affairs of state be managed by the Parliament, except such matters as are transferr'd by them to the Privy council, and to be concluded by the major part of the nobility under their hands; the full number not to exceed twenty five, nor to be under fifteen. If any place shall fall void in the interval of

' Parliament, then that the major part of the council chuse one to be
 ' confirmed at the next sessions of Parliament, 3. That all great
 ' officers of the Kingdom shall be chosen with approbation of Parlia-
 ' ment. 4. That the government and education of the King's Children,
 ' be by appointment of Parliament. 5. That their marriages be treated
 ' and concluded by Parliament. 6. That the laws against Papists,
 ' priests, and others, be executed, without toleration or dispensation,
 ' except by Parliament. 7. That no Popish Lord or Peer have vote
 ' in Parliament; and their children be educated in the Protestant Faith.
 ' 8. That Church government be reformed as the Parliament shall
 ' advise. 9. That the Militia be settled as the Parliament have ordered,
 ' and that the King recall all his declarations, published against their
 ' ordinances therein. 10. That all Privy Councillors and Judges take
 ' an oath for the maintenance of The Petition of Right, and other
 ' statutes, which shall be made this Parliament. 11. That all officers
 ' placed by Parliament hold their places, *Quam diu bene se gesserint*,
 ' as long as they shall act justly. 12. That all members of Parliament
 ' put out during this time, be restored again. 13. That the justice
 ' of Parliament pass upon all delinquents, and that they appear or abide
 ' their censure. 14. That the general pardon pass with exceptions,
 ' as the Parliament shall advise. 15. That all forts and castles of this
 ' Kingdom be disposed of by Parliament. 16. That the King discharge
 ' all his guards and forces now in being, and not raise any other, but
 ' in case of actual rebellion. 17. That the King enter into strict
 ' alliance with all Protestant Kingdoms and States for their assistance, to
 ' recover the rights of his sister, and her princely issue, to those
 ' dignities and dominion which belong to them. 18. That the Lord
 ' Kimbolton and the five members be cleared by act of Parliament.
 ' 19. That no Peer hereafter to be made, shall sit in Parliament with-
 ' out their consent."

These propositions were rejected by the King, as inconsistent with
 his regality: so that now men began to despair of any good issue,
 for both sides make preparations for war: the King sending out his
 commissions of array; and the Parliament published an order, June
 10, for bringing in money or plate to maintain the horse, horse-men
 and arms, for the public peace and defence of the King and both
 Houses of Parliament; and declared the King's commission to be
 against the law, liberty and property of the subject; and the actors
 therein to be disturbers of the peace, and betrayers of the subjects'
 liberty. At this time the Lord keeper Littleton, having delivered the
 great seal to one Eliot, whom the King sent for it, durst not stay behind.

for fear of being questioned, but went to the King to York, as many of the Peers did likewise, whom the King summoning together, as also his Privy Council; he declares and protests to them, 'that he would not usurp any illegal authority over them, but is ready to maintain them against all others that would. And that he would defend them from all votes and orders of Parliament, together with the true Protestant religion, the lawful liberty of the subjects, and the just priviledges of the three estates of Parliament; nor will he engage them in any war but what shall be for the necessary defence of his and their rights; whereupon they all ingaged to him their duty and allegiance in a most solemn protestation. After which the King sent letters to Sir Richard Gurney Lord Mayor, and the Aldermen and Sheriffs of London, forbidding them, upon peril of having their charter questioned, to levy arms or raise money, upon pretence of a guard to the Parliament or any other account, except only the relief of Ireland, or the payment of the Scotch subjects.

At this time the King publisheth a general declaration, wherein he descants upon all the Parliaments declarations for the last 7 months, but especially the last; professing that hence forward he expects they should break out into disloyal actions, declaims against their making the defence of the King, to be the pretence for their raising forces; protests his own constant resolution for the preserving of peace, religion, the laws, and subjects liberties; and expects all his subjects to assist him against the traitorous attempts of such men as would destroy his person, honour, and estate, and bring on a civil war; engaging that whosoever shall bring to him money, ammunition, horse, or arms, shall receive eight pound per cent. consideration, and have good assurance of both principal and interest, upon his forrest lands, parks and houses.

After this the King by proclamation forbids all levies, of forces, and all contributions to such levies, without his express pleasure; grounding it upon several statutes as 7 Edward I. 2 Edward III. and then minds them of their oath of allegiance, by which they were bound to be faithful, not to the King only as King, but to his person, as King Charles, contrary to the Parliaments distinction, betwixt his person and his authority; his person at York, and his authority in Parliament; and concludes with justifying his commissions of array, which were now issued out in several counties in England and Wales; to this the Parliament reply, and the King again to them, which was followed by several messages to and fro; all which rather exasperated than allayed the difference; and now began England to be divided, as Italy once was into Guelphes and Gibellines, so they into Royalists and Presbyterians, or Cavileers and Roundheads

After this the King makes a progress from York into the counties of Nottingham and Lincoln, and summons the gentlemen and freeholders to Newark; he caresses them with the most obliging expressions imaginable. And July 11, 1642. his Majesty sends a message to the Parliament to certify them of his intentions to reduce Hull by force, if not forthwith delivered to him, if which they should do, he would then admit of their future addresses, and return such propositions as might best conduce to prevent the approaching War; together with this message he sent them likewise a copy of the proclamation, which he had published against Sir J. Hotham, wherein he complains of the affront done to his person by Sir J. and of the Parliament justifying that action by their votes and orders; that Hotham having fortified the town, and drowned the country, had also set out a pinnace at Sea, which had intercepted his packet boat with the Queen's letters, and that the Earl of Warwick contrary to the King's command, had taken upon him the command of the fleet; for which reasons the King was resolved to punish Hotham. Indeed the Earl of Warwick had been by the Parliament recommended to the King as Admiral (the Earl of Northumberland being then sick) but he was rejected by the King, who conferred that place upon Sir John Pennington; yet afterwards the Parliament conceiving it necessary to get the Fleet into their hands, they found means, notwithstanding the oppositions of Sir John Pennington; and his adherents, to make the Earl of Warwick admiral; after which a ship laden with arms and ammunition from Holland for the King, being ignorant of the matter, fell in among the fleet, and was by the Earl of Warwick sent to the Parliament.

The Parliament now thought fit to arm, and therefore resolve that an army shall be raised for defence (as they term it) of King and Parliament; and the Earl of Essex to be Capt. General, and the Earl of Bedford to command the Horse; the Earl of Holland, Sir John Holland, and Sir William Stapleton, were ordered to carry a petition to the King then at Beverly, the effect whereof, was to pray him to disband all his forces, to recal his Commissions of Array, dismiss his Guard, and return to the Parliament; all which the King refused. The Parliament next consider of raising money, and so declare for loan upon the Public Faith: to promote which the endeavours of the Ministers were very serviceable, whereby in a short time a very considerable quantity of money, plate, and ammunition were brought in.

The King was likewise furnished with money from the Queen upon the pawned jewels, and some contribution from divers Lords and Gentlemen, and the University of Oxford. The King goes from Beverly to Leicester, and there proclaims the Earl of Stamford traitor,

for removing the county Magazine from the town to his own house at Bradgate. August 1. The King comes back to Yorkshire, and raises a regiment under the Earl of Cumberland, which he called Prince Charles his regiment.

The Parliament on the other side, declare the Commissioners of Array to be traitors and disturbers of the state and peace of the Kingdom, and Lieutenants of several counties were constituted by Parliament.

The King likewise deals with their commanders as they did with his, and proclaimed General Essex with all his colonels and officers who should not instantly lay down their arms, to be rebels and traitors; and the marquess of Hartford and his forces are ordered to march against him. The King then summons in the country on the North side of Trent, and 20 miles Southward, and publisheth his grand declaration concerning all transactions between himself and the Parliament.

August 22. 1642. The King comes to Nottingham, and there erects his standard, to which some numbers resorted, but far short of what was expected; and three days after the King sends a message to the Parliament to propose a treaty; the messengers were the Earls of Southampton and Dorset, Sir John Culpepper, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir William Vadal, none of which were suffered to sit in the House, to deliver their errand, therefore it was sent in by the Usher of the Black Rod, to which the Parliament answered, that until his Majesty shall recal his proclamations, and declarations of treason against the Earl of Essex, and them, and their adherents; and unless the Kings standard set up in pursuance thereof, be taken down, they cannot by the fundamental priviledges of Parliament, give his Majesty another answer:

' The King replies, that he never intended to declare the Parliament traitors, or set up his standard against them, but if they resolve to treat, either party shall revoke their declaration against all persons as traitors, and the same day to take down his standard.

To this they answer, that the differences could not any ways be concluded, unless he would forsake his evil counsellors, and return to his Parliament; and accordingly September 6. they order and declare, that the arms which they have or shall take up for the Parliament, religion, laws, and liberties of the Kingdom, shall not be laid down until the King withdraw his protection from such persons as are or shall be voted delinquents, and shall leave them to justice, that so their estates may discharge the debts and loan moneys of the commonwealth.

The War being now begun, the new raised souldiers committed many outrages upon the country people, which both King and Parliament upon complaint endeavoured to rectifie: the King himself was

now Generalissimo over his own, his captain general was first the Marquis of Hartford, and afterward the Earl of Lindsey; and the Earl of Essex for the Parliamentarians; the Kings forces received the first repulse at Hull by Sir John Hotham, and Sir John Meldrum, and the King takes up his quarters at Shrewsbury; Portsmouth was next surrendered to the Parliament, and presently after Sir John Byron takes Worcester for the King; in September the two Prince Palatines, Rupert and Maurice, arrived in England, who were presently entertained and put into command by the King, who having now got together a potent army, he made a solemn protestation to them of his candid intentions, and sincere meaning, to defend the Protestant Religion, the laws and liberties of the subjects, and privileges of Parliament, according to the former protestation at York.

September 9. The Earl of Essex in great state attended on by the Parliament set forth out of London toward St. Albans, and from thence to Northampton, where all his forces met, amounting to near fourteen thousand men, having with him the Parliament's petition, which he was to present to the King, the effect of which was,

That his loyal subjects the Lords and Commons in Parliament, cannot without tenderness of compassion behold the pressing calamities of England, and Ireland, by the practices of a prevailing party with his Majesty, to alter true religion and the ancient government of this Kingdom, introducing superstition into the Churches, and confusion in the State; exciting, encouraging, and fostering the rebellion in Ireland, and as there, so here began the like massacres; by drawing on a War against the Parliament, leading his person against them, as if by conquest to establish an unlimited power over the people, seeking to bring over the rebels of Ireland to join with them: and all these evil councillors are defended and protected against the justice of the Parliament, who have for their just defence of religion, the Kings crown and dignity, the laws, liberties and power of Parliaments taken up arms, and authorized the Earl of Essex to be their captain general against these rebels and traitors. And pray the King to withdraw his person, and leave them to be suppress by his power, and to return to his Parliament, and that they would receive him with honour, and yield him obedience, secure his person, and establish him and his people with all the blessings of a glorious and happy reign.

This petition was never delivered, though Essex sent twice to the King for safe conduct for those who were to present it; for the King refused to receive any address from those whom he accused of high treason, of whom the Earl of Essex was one: the King then marches from Shrewsbury toward London, upon which the Parliament ordered

the forces of the associated counties of Essex, Hertford, Middlesex and London to be ready at an hours warning; they likewise order that the lands, rents and profits of Archbishops and Bishops, shall be sequestered, as likewise the King's fines about wards.

Awhile after, Colonel Fines and Sands were routed at Worcester by Prince Rupert, while they endeavoured to take the town from Sir John Byron, who had it in possession for the King; but Essex making his approach with his army, Prince Rupert and Byron quitted the town to him; then were Gloucester, Bristol and other places made garrisons for the Parliament; but in Yorkshire and Cornwall the Kings party grew powerful, and likewise in Wales; were the Earl of Worcester had got together a great number of Welchmen, so that the King seeing his army increased resolved to march toward London, and was gotten one day's journey before Essex; who perceiving his error of staying so long at Worcester hastens after him, to the relief of his masters; the King disdaining to be pursued by a subject, turns back to meet him, and October 23, 1642, both parties drew into the field between Keinton and Edghill in Warwickshire, where on both sides were slain between five and six thousand men that day, but night parting them, the next day both parties quit the field, the King then marches to Coventry, and thence sends a proclamation of pardon to the cities of London and Westminster, some persons only excepted. This battle of Edghill was fought on Sunday, the same day twelve month the Irish rebellion brake out.

The King then takes in Banbury, the town and castle being surrendered without a blow, and two regiments of foot, and a troop of horse, took arms under him; from thence the King marches to Oxford, and Essex goes to London, where he was received with great honour; the Parliament to recruit their army, declare; that all apprentices who will list themselves, shall be free from their masters for that time, and shall afterward be received again into service: by which means abundance were induced to turn soldiers; they likewise invite the Scots to come in to their assistance, which the King by a letter to the Lords of the Privy Council in Scotland endeavours to prevent, but in vain: at this time several of the Lords and Commons present a petition to the King at Colebrook to desire him to appoint a place to treat in: to which he answered; he would expect them at his Castle of Windsor, and desires them to hasten the treaty.

At the same time, the King hearing that Essex had drawn his forces and ordnance out of London toward him, and that unless he gained Brainford he would be hemmed in by the Parliament's army, who possessed most of the towns round about him; the King marches thither

that night, where part of Colonel Hollis's regiment that quartered there, made a stout resistance, till the Lord Brooke's and Colonel Hamden's regiment came into their relief, who maintained the fight till night, and then retreated out of town, which the King presently took possession of, with some prisoners, arms and ammunition, eleven colours, and fifteen pieces of ordnance: Essex hearing this, soon came thither, followed with the city Militia and trained bands, which together made a formidable army, so that the King thought fit to march back again to Oxford: this action in a time of treaty, (though not without sufficient ground) was so ill resented by the Houses, that they voted to have no accommodation: yet afterward upon consideration, they again petition him to desert his army, and return to his Parliament, but with the same success as formerly.

At this time a letter from one of the King's agents in Holland was intercepted, in which he is advertised of considerable forces ready to be sent over for his service: from Denmark likewise arms are sent for ten thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, with a train of artillery, and every thing proportionable, even to the drums and halberts. In Yorkshire the Earl of Newcastle had a sharp rencounter at Tadcaster with the Lord Fairfax, and forced him to retreat: the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, the Isle of Ely, and the City of Norwich, are authorized by Parliament to associate under the Lord Gray of Wark, and Winchester and Chester are gained by the Parliament.

Dec. 15. Colonel Goring, with the King's Standard, eighty old commanders, and a store of warlike provision, join with the Earl of Newcastle. About which time the City of London petitioned the King, and profess their grief for his distrust of their loyalty, with large protestations of their zealous intentions to defend him, with all the love and duty which became good subjects. The King replies, that he had a good opinion of many of them, and could freely and willingly pardon all, except Pennington the present Mayor, Venn, and some others; and concludes with declaring his high displeasure against such as shall continue acting and assisting his adversaries: many of them were startled with this answer, yet were revived again with what Mr. Pryn and the Parliament Committee told their Common Council, of the Parliaments' great love and affection to them, and resolution to live and die in their defence.

In the North, Sir Hugh Cholmly encounters with several parties of the King's horse at Malton, and Jan. 16. joining with Sir Matthew Boynton, routed a party of six hundred horse and foot under Colonel Slingsby. Sir Thomas Fairfax likewise takes Leeds with little loss on

his side, but five hundred royalists were made prisoners, (six of them commanders) four colours and much arms and ammunition were taken; the King's forces next leave Wakefield and Doncaster, which are presently garrisoned for the Parliament. The Earl of Newcastle brings his forces to York, to prepare for entertaining the Queen; and Jan. 17. he proclaims the Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas, Traitors; (as the Earl of Cumberland had done before) which the Parliament resenting, proclaimed the Lord Newcastle the same.

The Parliament, Feb. 1. make these following propositions to the King at Oxford, (which were presented by the Earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, Pembroke, and Holland, with eight of the House of Commons) to disband his army, and to return home to his Parliament; to leave all delinquents to trial, and all Papists to be disarmed: to pass an act for abolishing the present Church governors, and such other bills as shall be prepared in order to a reformation; all Popish recusants to abjure and renounce Popery; all malignant Councillors to be removed, the Militia to be settled according to the Parliaments' minds; such persons to be preferred to great offices and places of judicature, as the Parliament shall name, and all such Justices of Peace as have been lately turned out of commission be again taken in; that an act pass to vindicate the Lord Kimbolton, and the five members. And an alliance be entered into with our Protestant neighbours for recovery of the Palatinate; that a general pardon pass, with exception to the Earl of Newcastle, Lord Digby, and some others; that such members of Parliament as have been displaced, be restored to offices and places, and satisfaction made them for their losses.

On the other side, the King proposed, 'that his own revenue, magazines, towns, ships and forts be restored: that what hath been done contrary to law and the King's rights, may be renounced, and recalled: that all illegal power claimed, or acted by any orders of Parliament, be disclaimed; and as the King will readily consent to the execution of all laws made or to be made concerning Popery and reformation, so he desires a bill for the preserving the Book of Common Prayer against sectaries; and that all persons excepted against in the treaty, may be tried *per pares* by their equals: that there be a cessation of arms and a free trade.'

This made way for a treaty of peace, but little was done in it till March 4. 1642. when Sir Benjamin Rudyard, one of the Commons, told the Parliament plainly, that the war would ruin all; whereupon they appointed commissioners, that is, the Earl of Northumberland, Mr. Pierpoint, Sir William Ermine, Sir John Holland and Mr. Whitlock, who were to attend the King at Oxford.

Feb. 23. 1642. The Queen landed at Burlington Key, with officers, ammunition and money, from Holland, from whence the Earl of Montross and the Lord Ogilby conveyed her to York, where she was honourably received by the Earls of Cumberland and Newcastle, and there she began to form her army. In the mean time Col. Massey advances against Capt. Bridges, who kept Shudley Castle in Gloucestershire, with sixty soldiers, and all other things sufficient, for the Lord Shandois on the King's behalf; Col. Massey offers to storm the Castle, but is repulsed, yet next day he possessed the garden under the Castle, and firing some hay and straw, made so great a smother in the house, that taking the opportunity thereof, he planted his great guns so conveniently, as forced the besieged to surrender upon quarter, leaving their arms, and engaging to pay five hundred pounds in six days for the goods in the castle, or else to lose them.

Yet had the Parliament no great cause of boasting of this victory; for soon after Prince Rupert with four thousand horse and foot, making shew to regain it, marches to Cirencester, where the strength and great part of the magazine of the county lay, and February 1. he masters the guard, and forces his passage into the town, which in two hours he gained, taking one thousand one hundred prisoners, and two thousand arms; and next day he summons Gloucester, which Colonel Massey was resolved to defend, and to strengthen it, deserts Shudly Castle and other out garrisons.

The Earl of Worcester and his son the Lord Herbert had now raised an army of near one thousand five hundred Welchmen for the King, with whom he marched to the forest of Dean, and beat Colonel Borroughs regiment out of a small town call'd Coford near Monmouth; from thence they march to Hingham within two miles of Gloucester, and Colonel Bret demands the town for the King, but was answered with scorn; for Massey with assistance from Capt. Fines at Bristol, weakened them with continual skirmishes, till Sir William Waller having taken Malmesbury came to Gloucester, and joyned his forces with the other, so that this Welch army spent near five weeks without doing any memorable action.

But now Colonel Massey draws out all his horse, with five hundred foot, and some ordnance, and held them play the first day; the next morning the great guns give the alarm, and both parties engage very fiercely, and the Welch were like to have routed him, and taken his ordnance, at which instant Sir William Waller comes in to Massey's assistance, who taking courage thereby they run furiously upon the Welchmen, and drive them back to Hingham house, which they began presently to batter with their cannon; whereupon the Welch sound a parley, and surrender the place, and themselves prisoners, but the officers were to receive quarter according to their qualities;

and next day Waller and Massey led their booty in triumph to Gloucester.

The assistance of the Scots had been formerly desired by the Parliament, which (notwithstanding their late protestations not to take arms against their Prince) they now hearken to, and having compleated their army, March 13, 1641, they cross the river Tyne, and march Southward, to employ the E. of Newcastle.

The Irish rebels about this time (notwithstanding the defeats they met with at Tredagh and Dundalk) were much increased in number; and the Pope (a more unhappy fisher than his pretended predecessor St. Peter, who was for saving, but he for destroying men) sends two letters to them, one subscribed to Owen O'Neal, and the other to all archbishops, bishops, nobles, and people of the kingdom of Ireland, in both which he commends those who had already appeared in the quarrel, and exhorts others to engage in the same, declaring his great joy for their late butcheries, and massacres upon the Protestants, and bestowing upon them his fatherly benediction, and plenary pardon and absolution for whatever villanies they had committed. By the Pope's thus publicly declaring himself for them, the rebels grew very powerful, and many who were at first afraid of being concerned, now openly appeared for them, insomuch that all parts of Ireland were overwhelmed by them as with an inundation.

This year was remarkable for the death of Cardinal Richlieu, that great firebrand and disturber of Europe, but more particularly these three kingdoms, of whose distractions he was both a principal causer, and fomenter; he led the way to his master Lewis XIII. who deceased soon after in the midst of his conquests in Catalonia, leaving for his successor his eldest son Lewis XIV. (the present French King) under the government of the Queen Dowager, and Cardinal Mazarine succeeded in Richlieu's stead.

The year 1643, and the nineteenth of his Majesty's reign, began with a treaty of peace, which was formerly agreed on, but proceeded slowly, till it was again revived by Sir Benj. Rudyard. The commissioners on both parties now met at Oxford, and began to treat of the King's propositions, concerning his revenue, magazines, forts, and ships; and the Parliament's propositions concerning the disbanding of armies, which particulars taking up more time than the King expected, his Majesty, April 12, 1643, sends this message to the Parliament:

That as soon as he was satisfied concerning his own revenue, magazines, ships, and forces, in which he desired nothing but his just and legal known rights to be restored to him, and to persons trusted by

him; and as soon as the members of both Houses should be restored to the same capacity of sitting and voting in Parliament as they had upon January 1, 1641, (excluding such whose votes had been taken away by bill, or by new elections, or new writs): and that as soon as his Majesty and both Houses may be secured from such tumultuous assemblies as to the high dishonour of the Parliament had awed the members of the same (which he conceived could not otherwise be done, but by adjourning the Parliament to some place twenty miles from London, such as the Houses should agree upon), his Majesty most cheerfully and readily would consent to the disbanding of the armies, and would return speedily to his two Houses of Parliament according to the time and place which they should agree upon.

Upon this message the Parliament resolved to call back their commissioners, and so, April 15, the treaty ended. About the beginning of last March, the L. Brook marched towards Northampton, and seizing the ammunition there he went from thence to Warwick, and so to Stratford-upon-Avon, and beat Col. Crocker's, and Lieut.-Col. Wagstaff's forces out of that town; after which, besieging Litchfield, one of the King's party shooting at a venture at the window of his chamber, the bullet pierced him in the eye, of which he immediately died, yet his soldiers being heightened with revenge, took the Close with the Earl of Chesterfield and all his soldiers and ordnance; after which Prince Rupert and the Earl of Northampton joining their forces, fell upon the Parliamentarians at Litchfield, where the E. of Northampton was slain at the head of his troop, yet Lieut.-Col. Russel, who commanded it, despairing of succour, yielded up the place to Prince Rupert upon honourable conditions, and marched away to Coventry.

April 17, 1643, the E. of Essex sat down before Reading, and made two assaults, but was repulsed. The King marched from Oxford to Wallingford for its relief, but Essex's army increasing daily with fresh supplies from London, both parties happened to skirmish at Causum-Bridge, where many of the King's forces were slain, and forced to retreat; whereupon the town was a while after surrendered by Col. Fielding, who was made Deputy Governor in the room of Sir Arthur Aston, who was disabled by a bruise he received in his head with a brick-bat: Fielding was for this sentenced by a Council of War, at Oxford, to lose his head, but by the intercession of friends was pardoned.

May 8. cross was destroyed of horse companies of foot it done, and the top cross, trumpets blew shout was ring-cross, crosses in and down were like-down about the same time.



Cheapside demolished, a and two com-waiting to see at the fall of drums beat, and a great made; Cha-and all other about Lon-wise pulled

In the mean time the breach between the King and Parliament became wider than ever; so that they proceeded to draw up articles of high treason against the Queen, some of which were, that she had pawned the crown jewels in Holland, that she had favoured the rebellion in Ireland, that she had endeavoured to raise a party in Scotland against the Parliament, and that she had gone at the head of a Popish army in England. Several other articles were framed against her, upon which Mr. Pym carried up an impeachment to the Lords, who seemed at first surprised therewith, but they afterwards agreed to the charge.

The Queen had about this time raised an indifferent army of horse and foot, and leaving some horse and foot with Sir Charles Cavendish for defence of Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire, she with 3000 foot, three companies of horse and foot, six cannons, and two mortar-pieces, met the King at Edge-hill, and goes from thence with him to Oxford.

Several encounters happened in the west between Sir Ralph Hopton for the King, and Sir G. Chudleigh, then commander of the Parliament's forces, where sometimes one party was victorious, and then the other. Colonel Nath. Fines, Governor of Bristol, about this time discovered a design of Robert Yeomans and George Bouchier, to deliver up that city to the King's forces, upon which they were condemned by a Council of War, and hanged May 30, notwithstanding the King's letter to the Mayor and citizens, and General Ruthen's to the Governor on their behalf; and so ends this month, famous by the death of Mr. John Pym, that active person in the House of Commons.

In June 1643, Mr. Waller a member of the House of Commons, Mr. Tomkins, Mr. Challoner, Mr. Hasle, Mr. Blinkhorn, Mr. White, and others were arraigned at Guildhall, London, they being charged for designing to seize into their custody the King's children, some

members of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, and Committee of the Militia, all the city's outworks, and forts, the Tower of London, and all the magazines, and then to let in the King's forces to surprise the city. Upon this indictment they were tried and condemned, but Tomkins and Challoner only were hanged.

Some skirmishes passed between the Earl of Essex and Prince Rupert, who engaging about Tame, in Oxfordshire, the Prince routed a body of horse in Chalgrave field, where Mr. John Hambden received his mortal wound; but in the west the Parliament's forces had better success, where they took in the towns of Taunton and Bridgwater. At this time finding the want of a Great Seal, the Parliament after long debates voted, that a new seal should be made for confirmation of their acts and ordinances; which was forthwith done, and thereon was engraven the picture of the House of Commons and members sitting, and on the other side the arms of England and Ireland; but between the voting and making this seal, they passed this order, that if the Lord Keeper Littleton, upon summons did not return with the Great Seal within fourteen days, he should lose his place, and whatsoever should be sealed therewith by him after that time, should be null and void in law. And presently after, Mr. Henry Martin, a member of Parliament, seized upon the Regalia which were repositied in Westminster Abbey, telling some of his accomplices, that the time would come wherein there would be no need of crowns and scepters.

July 5, 1643, Sir William Waller meets with Sir Ralph Hopton's forces at Landsdown, near Bath, who though fewer than Sir William's, yet maintained the fight from two in the afternoon till one the next morning, and then Sir William's party forsook the field. Hopton himself was hurt, and lost divers gentlemen of note, but the Parliament's loss was more. Hopton marches to the Devizes, in Wiltshire, and Waller after him; whereupon the King sent 1500 horse from Oxford to Hopton's relief. Waller draws off to Roundway Down, and there the fight began in which the Parliamentarians were defeated and fled, leaving the foot to the mercy of their adversaries, by whom hundreds of them were slain, and more taken, with four brass guns, ammunition, and baggage, twenty-eight colours, and nine cornets. Waller having thus lost his army, posts to London with a few followers for recruits. This fight happened July 13, 1643.

Some difference arising in the north between Lord Fairfax, General for the Parliament, and Sir John Hotham, Governor of Hull, who refused to submit to the Lord Fairfax; the Parliament designed to displace Hotham, which he discovering by an intercepted letter, began to project new designs; and his son, Captain Hotham, being suspected

by the Parliament, was imprisoned at Nottingham, but made his escape, and underhand treated with the Earl of Newcastle. Upon which orders were sent for seizing both father and son, which was done accordingly, together with his wife, and the rest of his children, who were all sent up prisoners to the Parliament; and some months after Sir John and his son were brought to trial in Guildhall, the Earl of Manchester and others being assigned their judges; and the father is charged, that he had traiterously betrayed the trust reposed in him by the Parliament, and adhered to the enemy, as appeared by his words, by his letters, and by his actions, and that he held correspondence with the Queen, the Earl of Newcastle, Lord Digby, and others of that party, and had endeavoured to betray Hull to them. His son was charged with things of the same nature; upon which they were both sentenced to be beheaded, which was accordingly executed, the son Jan. 1, 1644, and the father the day after.

But to return; July 4, 1643, Prince Rupert sits down before Bristol, and though Colonel Fines had formerly hanged up some citizens for intending to have delivered up the town to the Prince, yet nevertheless the design took effect, for being at that time very ill provided for resistance (which Prince Rupert had notice of from his correspondents within), the Governor was constrained, after three days seige, to surrender it to him.

August 12, the Earl of Lindsey being freed from his imprisonment wherein he was since Edge-hill fight, came to the King at Oxford; and soon after Prince Maurice besieged Exeter, flinging in granadoes and firing part of the suburbs, upon which a fruitless parley ensued; the next day the Prince masters the Great Sconce, and turns the great guns thereon upon the city, and then the garrison agreed to yield, the officers only to part with their swords, and the private soldiers to march out with cudgels in their hands. At this time Judge Berkley, who had been imprisoned by the Parliament about ship-money, was fined 20,000*l.* made incapable of all offices, and to continue a prisoner during pleasure.

The Parliament were now busied for recruiting Sir William Waller's army, and to incline the Londoners to a more cheerful compliance, Pennington the Lord Mayor, was made Lieutenant of the Tower; yet Waller was forced to stay because Essex's army wanted likewise reinforcements. Essex musters 10,000 men at Hounslow Heath, but this would not serve for so weighty an affair as the relief of Gloucester, now besieged by the King, and he must therefore make use of the London trained bands.

Gloucester was the place which stopt the current of the King's successes; Massey was Governor thereof, and had with him two regiments of foot, and an 100 horse, which with some other recruits made up 1500 men, with forty barrels of powder, and a slender artillery; yet they within behaved themselves like men of resolution, and alarmed the besiegers with frequent sallies. The King plants his cannon against the gates, which made above 150 shot, and the granadoes did some execution in the town, yet nothing abated the spirits of the people. Whereupon the King prepares for a general storm, and all was ready, they within being in want and having but three barrels of powder left, when news comes that Essex was on his march with a powerful army to raise the siege; whereupon after consultation had by the King with the general officers, it was resolved the King's army should draw off, which was done, and all their huts were set on fire; and Sept 5, 1643, Essex enters into Gloucester, and having furnished the city plentifully with provisions, went after the King, who at that siege lost that opportunity of marching up to London (the Parliament having then no considerable army in the field) which he could never regain.

The war had hitherto continued in Ireland; and the English army had commonly success against the rebels; but the King now understanding the Parliament's contracting with the Scots for aid, thought fit to strengthen himself by recalling part of his army there, hither; and commissioned the Earl of Ormond, his Lieutenant-General, to agree on a cessation for a year, which was concluded at Singeston, and Sept. 18, 1643, was proclaimed by the Lords Justices and Council at Dublin; and soon after some forces from thence landed in Wales, and took Hawarden Castle, near Chester, for the King.

The Earl of Essex have relieved Gloucester, speeds after the King, and passing by Cirencester left a strong party there, where Prince Maurice was expected that night; but instead of him comes Essex, and being mistaken for the other, enters the town without any opposition, seizes 400 men, and thirty cart loads of provision, and then marches to Newbury, where the King was before, and had gotten the advantage of the ground, and planted his ordnance. Early in the morning, Sept. 20, 1643, Essex views the King's army, and in Newbury Common draws up his own, and falls to firing, the King's army doing the like. That part of the army which Prince Rupert charged, being overlayed, were forced to fall off on the right hand, where two great bodies of horse marched down the hill, and fell in furiously upon the Prince; both sides acting with great valour and fury, and coming to handy strokes with their swords.

The Essexians then wheeling about, charged the Lord Jermyn's regiment, whom they forced to make their escape through some bodies of foot; this battel caused great loss and bloodshed on either side, but greater on the King's, whose other bodies of horse, commanded by the Earls of Carnarvan and Northampton, notwithstanding the great courage of their commanders, were overpowered, and the Earls of Carnarvan and Sunderland, Viscount Falkland and many other officers and gentlemen slain. The London trained bands and auxiliaries did the Parliament great service in this fight. Night coming on, both armies retired, and next day marched away from each other.

After this several places were garrisoned for the King by Sir William Vavasor, as Tewksbury, Shudley Castle, and other places in Gloucestershire, and soon after Waller again surpriseth Tewksbury, but is afterward beaten by Prince Maurice. Massey and Waller take Hereford, and Sir William Brereton had the town and castle of Eccleshal delivered upon reasonable quarter. An ordinance is now published by the Parliament to seize upon the King's revenue; and Sir William Waller is made Major General of Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, and marching to Farnham, beat a party of the King's army, and then took Alton and Arundel Castle. Colonel Norton was routed by Hopton; and the Parliament finding the King's power increase, they publish, that whoever shall assist the King with horse, arms, plate or money against them, are traitors to the Parliament, and shall be so proceeded against. The King summons a Parliament at Oxford, Jan. 22, 1643, where in the great hall, at Christ Church, he tells them, that if he had the least thoughts of disagreeing with the happiness of this kingdom, he would not advise with such councillors as they were; and so the upper schools were assigned to the Lords, and the Convocation House to the Commons. In this Parliament, besides the Prince, Duke of York, Lord Keeper Littleton, Treasurer Cottington, Duke of Richmond, and Marquis of Hertford, there were nineteen earls and as many lords, and 117 knights and gentlemen, and afterwards five lords and twenty-three gentlemen more came to them. The first thing they fell upon, was to consider of means for effecting a peace, to which end a letter was written to the Earl of Essex, and subsigned by all their hands, who returned no answer, but sent it to the Parliament at Westminster.

Jan. 16, 1643, the Scots army entered England by the way of Newcastle, being 18,000 foot, and 2000 horse under General Levens, for assisting the Parliament in pursuance of the solemn league and covenant, and declaring the justness of their cause, which they profess to be reformation of religion, honour of the King, and peace of the king-

down; and that the main end of their coming is to rescue the King from his pernicious councillors. The Parliament caress the Scots army, and empower them to assess for themselves the twentieth part of all malignants estates (as they called them) in the north, besides what other counties were assessed for them. But the Earl of Newcastle is marching to give them rougher entertainment, and the Lord Fairfax sent his son Sir Thomas against them.

Sir John Meldrum, with 700 men, besieged Newark, and is blocked up by Prince Rupert, whereupon they parleyed, and upon articles were suffered to march away, leaving their match, bullet, powder, cannon, and all other fire-arms behind them. In the mean time matters are preparing for Scotland by James Marquis of Montrose, who had formerly sided with the covenanters, but now the King understanding he had really forsaken them, gives him a commission to be General Governor of Scotland, and orders him forces to go into the heart of that kingdom, for a diversion to the Scots.

In the year 1644, the twentieth of his Majesty's reign, Sir William Waller defeats the Lord Hopton's forces and takes Winchester, and Oliver Cromwell was made Governor of Ely; Budly is surprised by Colonel Fox for the Parliament, and the garrisons of Selby and Haintough are taken by the Lord Fairfax and his son; Prince Rupert raiseth the siege at Latham House. The King at this time, in the presence of the Peers at Oxford, received the sacrament at Christ Church, at the hands of Bishop Usher, where he used these solemn protestations:

My Lords, I espy here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the world the resolution I do now make. I have to the utmost of my power prepared my soul to become a worthy receiver, and may I so receive comfort by the blessed sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true reformed Protestant religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at Popery. I bless God that in the midst of these public distractions I have still liberty to communicate, and may this sacrament be my damnation if my heart do not join with my lips in this protestation.

The Parliament at Westminster voted it treason for any member, or members of either House to desert them, and to go to the King, and they never to be received again. The King marcheth out of Oxford, and is followed by Essex and Waller; he defeats Waller at Cropedy Bridge, and Essex is blocked up by the King's forces in Cornwall, and July 4th, the King sends several letters to the Parliament about a treaty of peace. Sept. 12, the Parliament at Oxford assemble again,

but falling into factions and divisions, the King in March following dissolves them.

The Earl of Newcastle was besieged in York about two months, to whose relief Prince Rupert advanceth northward with a great power of horse and foot, upon whose approach to the city the besiegers drew off, and those within, sally out upon their rear. The Earl of Newcastle being thus relieved, joins with Prince Rupert, resolving to follow the Parliamentarians and give them battle, which accordingly they did upon a plain called Marston Moor, where about 9000 men were slain, for the royalists having near routed the Parliament's army, pursued the chase so far, that the victory was snatched out of their hands, and the Parliament obtained an intire victory, after three hours fight resolutely maintained on both sides; after which York was delivered up to the Parliament, and they soon became masters of all the north; and Levens the Scotch general, takes Newcastle after this battle which was the greatest both for the fierceness of it, and for the number of soldiers on both sides; Prince Rupert goes into Lancashire, but the Earl of Newcastle, lately made Marquis, with his two sons, and his brother Sir Charles Cavendish, General King, the Lord Falconbridge, the Lord Widdrington, the Earl of Cranworth, the Bishop of London-derry, Sir Edward Widdrington, Colonel Carnaby, Colonel Bassett, Colonel Mouson, Sir William Vavasor, Sir Francis Mackworth, with about eighty other persons, upon some discontent, refused to engage any further in the King's cause, and went over to Hamburg.

New Levies are now made by the Parliament, and three attempts were made by the parliamentarians upon Dennington Castle, but in vain; the Queen going from Oxford to Exeter was there delivered of a daughter, June 16, 1644, who was called Henrietta Maria, and afterward went from thence to Pendennis Castle in Cornwall, where she embarked for France, and did not return again to England, till his present Majesty's restoration in 1660. Banbury Castle is relieved by Sir William Compton, having been besieged about eleven weeks by the Parliament's forces; Col. Myn is defeated by Massey, near Gloucester, and himself slain, and about 170 officers and soldiers taken prisoners; Prince Rupert sending 500 horse and foot to fortify Beachly, in order to his going to Ashferry, they are routed by Massey, who soon after takes Monmouth town.

Newberry seemed to be a place destined for martial exploits, for Oct. 27, another great battle was fought there, between the King's party and the Parliament's, under Essex, Waller, and Manchester, wherein the royalists were worsted, and between 4 and 5000 men slain on both

sides. Nov. 19, Monmouth is retaken by the King's forces. Dec. 23, Sir Alexander Carew was beheaded for endeavouring to deliver up the island of Plymouth to the King's forces.

Two principal Irish rebels, the Lords Macguire and Macmahon, had been sent from Ireland, and imprisoned in the Tower, from whence they made their escape; but being retaken, and tried, were found guilty of high treason, and were both drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tyburn, though Macguire pleaded his privilege to the Lords, as a peer of Ireland.

Archbishop Laud having been accused by the Parliament in 1640, as the framer of the canons in convocation, and other delinquencies, and the Scots joining him, and the Earl of Strafford in their grand accusation, charging him for obtruding the Common Prayer Book, and canons and constitutions ecclesiastical upon their nation, and for advising the King to dissolve the last Parliament, and other such matters, upon which he was first committed to the Black Bod, and ten weeks after voted guilty of high treason, and sent to the Tower, where he continued four years. His charge was, endeavouring the subversion. 1. Of the Laws. 2. Of religion. 3. Of the privileges of Parliament. And after many times attending on the House, Jan. 4, 1644, they passed their ordinance of Parliament, that he should be drawn, hanged, and quartered; but upon his petition, they voted him to be beheaded, which he suffered Jan. 10, after.

Jan. 30, 1644, a treaty was began at Uxbridge between the King and the Parliament. The commissioners for the King were these, the Duke of Richmond and Lenox; the Marquis of Hertford; the Earls of Southampton, Kingston, and Chichester; the Lords Capel, Seymour, Hatton, and Culpepper; Sir Edward Nichols; Sir Edward Hyde; Sir Richard Lane; Sir Thomas Grandure, Sir Orlando Bridgman; Mr. John Ashburnham; Mr. Jeffery Palmer, and Dr. Stewart. Those for the Parliaments of England and Scotland (for now they were joined in all public affairs), were the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Denbigh; Lord Wainman; Mr. Hollis; Mr. Pierpoint; Sir Henry Vane the younger; Mr. Crew; Mr. Whitlock; Mr. St. Johns; Mr. Prideux; Lord Lowden; Sir Charles Erskin; Mr. Dondas; Mr. Brakely, and Mr. Henderson. The commissioners on both sides being met, the things to be treated of were, 1. Religion. 2. The Militia. 3. Ireland; but first the King's commissioners gave in this paper concerning religion.

First, That freedom be left to all persons of what opinion soever in matters of ceremony, and that all penalties, or the laws and customs

which enjoins those penalties, be suspended. 2. That the Bishops shall exercise no act of jurisdiction, nor ordination, without the consent and counsel of the Presbyters, who shall be chosen out of the clergy of each diocese, out of the most learned, and gravest ministers of that diocese. 3. That the Bishop keep his constant residence in his diocese, except when he shall be required by his Majesty to attend him on any occasion; and that if he be not hindered by the infirmity of old age or sickness, he preach every Sunday in some church of his diocese. 4. That the ordination of ministers shall be always in a public, and solemn manner, and very strict rules observed concerning the sufficiency, and other qualifications of those men; who shall not be received into holy orders without the consent and approbation of the Presbyters, or the major part of them. 5. That competent maintenance be established by Parliament to such vicarages as belong to Bishops, Deans, and Chapters out of the impropriations, according to the value of the several parishes. 6.- That no man shall be capable of two parsonages or vicarages with cure of souls. 7. That toward the settling of the public peace, an hundred thousand pounds shall be raised by Parliament, out of the estates of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, in such manner as the King and Parliament shall think fit, without the alienation of any of the said lands. 8. That the jurisdiction in causes testamentary, decimals, matrimonials, be settled in such manner as shall seem most convenient by the King and Parliament; and likewise that acts be passed for regulating visitations, and against immoderate fees in ecclesiastical courts, and abuses by frivolous excommunication, and all other abuses in ecclesiastical jurisdictions, as shall be agreed upon by the King and Parliament; and if the Parliaments commissioners will insist upon any other things which they shall think necessary for religion, the King's commissioners will very willingly apply themselves to the consideration thereof.

The paper of the Parliaments commissioners concerning religion was, That the bill be passed for abolishing and taking away of all archbishops, bishops, &c. That the ordinances concerning the calling and sitting of the assembly of divines be confirmed by act of parliament. That the directory for public worship already passed both houses, and the propositions concerning church government, annexed and passed both houses, be enacted as a part of reformation of religion and uniformity; that his Majesty take the solemn league and covenant, and that it be enjoined to be taken by others; to which was annexed the following paper: That the ordinary way of dividing christians into distinct congregations, and most expedient for edification is by the

respective bounds of their dwellings; that the minister and church officers in each congregation shall join in the government of the church as it shall be established by Parliament; that many particular congregations shall be under one presbyterian government; that the church be governed by congregational, classical and synodical assemblies, to be established by Parliament; that synodical assemblies shall consist both of provincial and national assemblies; which papers took up three days of the treaty in dispute; the next three days were ordered for the militia, and the Parliament's propositions concerning it were as followeth; We desire that the subjects of England may be armed, trained, and disciplined as the Parliament shall think fit; the like for Scotland as the Parliament there shall think fit; that an act for settling the Admiralty and forces at sea, and monies thereto for maintenance, may be as the parliament shall think fit; the like for Scotland. That there be an act for settling all forces by sea and land, in commissioners to be named by the Parliament, and as both kingdoms shall confide in, and to suppress all powers and forces contrary thereunto, and to act as they shall be directed by Parliament; so for the kingdom of Scotland. That the Militia of the City of London, and of the parishes within London, &c. the liberties within the weekly bills of mortality be in the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council. That the Tower of London may be in the government of the City and chief officers, those to be nominated and removed by the Common-council. That the citizens and forces of London may not be drawn out of the City without their own consent, and that the example in these distracted times be no precedent for the future.

Upon February 18, began the articles about Ireland, wherein the Parliament desire, that an act be passed to make void the cessation of Ireland, and all treaties with the rebels, without consent of parliament, and to settle the prosecution of the war of Ireland in the Parliament, to be managed by the joint advice of both kingdoms, and his Majesty to assist, and to do no act to molest or discountenance them therein; the King's commissioners would not consent to the Parliaments propositions in any of the three points; religion, militia, or Ireland; but motioned, that if the articles proposed by them did not give satisfaction, that then so great an alteration as a total abolishment of a government established by law might be suspended, till after the disbanding of all armies, that the King may be present with the Parliament, and a national synod may be called to consider and determine of so important a business. 2. For the militia, they would condescend no farther, than that the person trusted with the militia

be nominated between them, or that an equal number, the one half by the king, and the other by the parliament should be chosen, and this to be but for three years. 3. As to Ireland, they justified the King's proceedings, and would not allow of any thing that should make against the cessation; and so the treaty ended without any thing effected of what the poor people longed for; the commissioners on both sides being so much bounded by their superiors; yet the King was much taxed (saith the author of the continuation of Sir R. Baker, p. 548) by those who were not slack to find out occasions of cavil against him about this treaty, especially for discovering so much favour and good will to the Irish, as was discovered in that article, and also for his transacting with them, and writing two letters to the Lord Deputy to hasten the peace with them, and promising them that the penal statutes against Roman Catholics should not be put in execution, when the peace was made, provided they continued in due obedience; and further, when they gave him that assistance which they promised for his English occasions, that then he would consent to the repeal of them all by a law, except those against appeals to Rome and Premunire; nay further it is laid to his charge as a matter of an high nature, that he had written to the lieutenant a third letter for hastening the peace, which rather than miss, he should promise to join with them against the Scots, and the Lord Inchequin. These things the Parliament did much aggravate against him, and also took such care for succouring their friends against the rebels, that they were never able to send over the promised supplies to the King.

At this time the Marquis of Winchester held out his house at Basing for the King; to reduce which, Sir William Waller with his new levies, advances and storms it thrice in nine days, but was beaten off, and forced to retreat to Farnham; Colonel Norton succeeds in that service, with whom join Colonel Morley and Sir Richard Ouslow, who fall furiously to the work, but with greater hurt to themselves; shortly after Colonel Witherhead comes to them with his regiment, the besiegers fall to battering, while necessaries fail within; Norton sends his summons, which contemned by the Marquis, the besieged sally out, and do much execution. And now comes Sir William Waller again, and with some troops faced the house, on whom the besieged played from their works. The Marquis sends to Oxford for relief, which is promised; in the mean time Waller again departs, and Colonel Gage is sent from Oxford with a regiment of bold blades, who finds Colonel Norton ready to receive them on Chinham Down. Gage makes his approach, appearing first on an hill, near the highway which leads to

Andover, whereupon Norton charges with great courage, and breaks through the others horse, who having a rescue of musketeers, with more than ordinary valour, forced Norton to retreat as far as the church, and through Basingstoke; the same time the besieged sallying out at several places, brought in many prisoners. The relief which Gage brought in consisted of many horse-load of powder and match, a drove of cattle, besides powder from Basingstoke. November 15, the besiegers after 24 weeks labour in vain, raised the siege, having lost about a thousand men one way or other during their stay before that house; nor had the King's forces any better success in their long sieges before Plymouth, Lyme, and Taunton in the west, which three places cost them the lives of some thousands of their soldiers, and yet not taken at last.

April 19, 1644. The Earl of Montross entered Scotland, and seized Dumfries, expecting the assistance of some Irish to be sent him by the Earl of Antrim, who not coming according to promise, he was fain to retire into England, and from thence sends the Lord Ogilby and Sir William Rollock disguised into the heart of Scotland, who brought back uncomfortable tidings of the great power and strength of the covenanters; whereupon he sends Ogilby to the King for more men, or at least arms from beyond seas, but these messengers were surprized, and imprisoned by the covenanters. Montross with a small retinue re-enters Scotland and comes to his cousin Patrick Graham, where he lies close, until instead of ten thousand promised, Alexander Macdonal brings over into the north of Scotland an hundred and ten Irish from Antrim, with whom Montross meets in Athol, were eight hundred countrymen join with him; with these and some other assistance he meets with the covenanters near Perth, under the Earl of Tulliban and some other Lords, with six thousand foot, and seven hundred horse ready to fight. September 1, the Lord Drummond comes out with a forlorn hope, and at the first onset is routed back to the main body, and so Montross with a shout lets loose his whole forces upon them, and puts them to flight with the slaughter of two thousand, and many prisoners, and the city of Perth taken. After which victory, divers other lords and gentlemen come into him, with whom he seeks out the covenanters, who lay at Aberdeen with an army of two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, commanded by the Lord Burleigh, expecting the conjunction of the Earl of Argile and his forces, which Montross means to prevent by fighting them; Montross had but 44 horse and fifteen hundred foot, all resolute men, who did their work with much courage, routing and pursuing their enemies to the gates of Dundee; after which Montross enters Aberdeen,

but news comes post that the Earls of Argile and Lothian were at hand with a strong body of horse, which Montross unable to encounter retires to Highland Mountains, and goes to Stragbogeey to try if he could persuade the Gordons to engage on his side; but they were hindred by the Earl of Huntley their chief, who though a royalist himself yet out of meer envy to Montross, did more obstruct the king's business than the covenanters themselves; here Montrose sculked, but Argile and Lothian follow him, and near Fary Castle they skirmish together, and the Montrossians having the advantage of an hill, put their enemies to a disorderly retreat, after which they both treat, during which some of Montrosses followers are dealt with to betray him; wherefore to secure himself he marched away to Badenah, many of his men by Argile's means falling off from him; and making no stay there, through unknown byways comes to Dunkeldon, and frightens Argile out of those parts; Macdonel was employed by Montross to the Mack-Renolds, with whom he used such persuasions that five hundred of them with their chief followed him to the Earl, and Patrick Graham brings some recruits from Athol; with these Montross marches into the county of Argile, where that Earl was enlisting soldiers, but Montross's coming frightens him away, and he victoriously divides his army into three brigades, himself leading one, Macdonel another, and Macrenhold a third, and with fire and sword ruins and destroys all, and so departs to Logues, where five thousand horse and foot commanded by the Earl of Seaford were ready to oppose him; and the Earl of Argile was not far off with three thousand foot, to prevent their joining, he resolves to fall upon Argile, which he does, and after a short fight, in which fifteen hundred were slain, puts him to the rout, with such terror that they ran nine miles outright; on Montross's party were but few killed, though many hurt, of whom Sir Thomas Ogilby dyed after of his wounds.

In England the king's forces prevail in Gloucestershire, and take Rowdon House, after stiff resistance made by the Colonels Devereux and Stephens, and Colonel Hopton having raised 60 horse and 40 foot for the parliament, is surprised and carried prisoner with all his men into Ludbury in Herefordshire; but the parliamentarians met with Sir John Winter and routed him, and another party of theirs surprised Shrewsbury; Prince Rupert, P. Maurice, the Lord Hastings, Ashly, Langdale, and Gerrard, with the greatest part of the King's forces went into Wales to raise more soldiers, and the King by his agents abroad solicits for foreign princes aid, and the queen treats with the Duke of Lorraine, who had an indifferent army.

about Colles, and had near finished her business, when Cardinal Mazarine spoils all, and finds other work for that Duke. The King sends also to Denmark, but that King being newly engaged in some differences with the Sweed, his Majesty was forced to make the best provision he could at home, to engage against the new model designed by the parliament.

And thus ends the year 1644. At the beginning of the next, Parliament were busied about framing an ordinance for calling the members of both Houses from all public employments, having been formerly discontented with their General the Earl of Essex, whom they suspected as careless or discontented, because after the second battle of Newberry, he suffered the King to march away without any molestation, and after to relieve Dennington Castle, and besides that he had quitted Newberry, and let it fall into the King's hands, &c. This was at last past with exceptions of Cromwell and a few others, and was called, "The Self-denying Ordinance;" the effect whereof was, "That all and every the members of either house shall be discharged at the end of 40 days after the passing this ordinance of all their command, military or civil, conferred by Parliament since November 20, 1640. That all other governors and commanders (not members) by land or sea, shall continue in their offices, wherein they were entrusted, March 30, 1644. Provided and excepted, that Lieutenants and their deputies in several counties, cities and places, or of any *custos rotulorum*, or justices of peace, or stewards, or any commissioners of oyer or terminer, or goal delivery; as also that those members of either House who had offices by grant from his Majesty before the Parliament, and were by him displaced before the sitting of the Parliament, and have since by the parliament been restored, shall not be discharged from their said offices or profits thereof, but shall enjoy the same."

The Parliament being thus resolved to model their army, the Earls of Essex, Manchester and Denbigh surrender their commissions in the House of Lords, desiring the soldiers arrears may be discharged; upon which the Commons vote ten thousand pounds a year to be paid to the Earl of Essex out of the delinquents Estates for his service and losses; and the Earl of Warwick yields up his commission of admiral at sea, which offices are presently intrusted with Commissioners; the Parliament after some jarring of both Houses about it, elected Sir Thomas Fairfax to be general of their army, and had accordingly sent for him out of the north; the other chief officers of this new model were Philip Skippon, major general of the whole army, Oliver

Cromwell, lieutenant general of the horse, Henry Ireton commissary general of the horse; the colonels of foot were Sir Hardress Waller, Hammond, Harley, Montague, Lloyd, Pickering, Holbourn, Crauford, Berkley, Aldridge, Ingoldsby, Rainsborough, Welden; for the horse were colonels Butler, Sheffield, Fleetwood, Rossiter, Rich, Whaley, Graves, Sydney, Middleton, Vermuden, Levisair, and Sir Robert Pye, and John Okey were colonels of the dragoons; after this unhappy model, the king's affairs in all places began fatally to decline.

The parliamentarians having surprised Shrewsbury, Colonel Mitten receives public thanks in the House of Commons for that service, which was very considerable, as being the King's chiefest garrison, wherein were taken eight knights and baronets, 40 colonels, majors, captains, and others of quality, besides common men; 15 pieces of ordinance, many hundred arms, divers barrels of powder, P. Maurice's magazine, and all this without any considerable damage on their side. About this time Sir M. Langdale with 2000 horse and foot from Oxford, beats the Lincolnshire horse, relieves Newark, Belvoir, and Ashby de la Zouch with provisions, and marched northward to Pontefract; and notwithstanding the Lord Fairfax's power, relieves the castle also: from hence he returns to Newark, so to Litchfield, then to the Forest of Dean, and beats off Colonel Dean from lying before Lydney. The King at Oxford takes care to furnish his garrisons and fit his army for the field: The Earl of Northampton routs the Parliament's Northampton horse, but Major General Brown, governor of Abingdon for the Parliament, sends out several parties, who return with success. About this time the House of Lords make the Earl of Northumberland and his Countess, Governor and Governess of the King's children at Whitehall.

The new model being compleated, Sir Thomas Fairfax sets forth for Windsor, where he applies himself to the forming of his new army, wherein Major General Skippon was so active, that the Parliament sent him a letter of thanks for that and all his former services. Hither comes Lieut. General Cromwell, whom, after some salutations past, the general ordered to march towards Oxford with a brigade of eleven hundred horse and dragoons, to intercept a convoy of 2000 horse, which Prince Rupert had sent from Worcester to fetch off the King with his train of artillery, and some foot, so to imbody and take the field; at Islip Bridge, Cromwell falls upon them and routs them, takes between 4 and 500 horse, and 200 prisoners, with the Queen's standard, the rest betook themselves to Blechinton-house, whither Cromwell pursues them, and sends a sharp summons to the

governor, who doubting of relief from Oxford, thinking that the enemy had a considerable strength of foot, and overpowered by the pining tears of some ladies, got thither to visit his wife, surrendered the house with all the arms and ammunition, which were sent to Ailsbury, and the house demolished, for which the governor, Colonel Windebank, is shot to death at Oxford; Cromwell improves his success, and falls upon a party of 300 foot, about Banton Bush, whom he defeats, and takes them almost all prisoners, with their arms and ammunition, and sends them with a convoy to Abingdon; and Colonel Fines beats another party of horse, taking 150 horse, three colours, and 50 arms; Sir John Winter being relieved by Langdale, and obtaining from Prince Rupert 2000 horse, and 1500 foot, made such a stir, as drew all the Gloucester forces upon him, upon which the Prince, April 22, marches all night to his assistance, and finds Massey before Liddbury, to whom he gives a sudden alarm; Massey being thus put to it, drew up, and fought the horse, entertaining the royalists with hot charges, whilst the foot might get off; but being overpowered was fain to give way, and the royalists falling on the foot, did much execution upon them. Massey's horse was shot dead under him by Prince Rupert, and Major Backhouse received his mortal wound, divers were slain, and the rest by flight escaped.

Prince Rupert marches from thence with about 6000 horse and foot towards Ludlow, and so to Shrewsbury, draining the garrisons, and taking to him the lesser brigades; and so he and his brother Maurice, assisted with Goring's horse and dragoons, fetched off the King from Oxford, who with a numerous army, advanceth towards the siege of Chester; General Fairfax's army being now fully compleated, he was ordered closely to besiege Oxford, as being the King's chief garrison, where most of the artillery lay; Cromwell and Brown being recalled from following the King, to assist the general therein. May 12, Col. Welden comes to relieve Taunton, of which the royalists being informed, they resolved to give one furious assault, and if it succeeded not, to rise from the seige and be gone, which not taking effect, they presently marched away, and Colonel Welden enters the town, and finds it almost ruined by fire, two long streets of fair buildings being burnt to the ground; and thus was Taunton relieved, after it had endured a hard siege. About this time Major General Massey takes in Evesham by storm, where Colonel William Leg was governor, who was taken prisoner, with 20 officers, 500 foot, and 120 horse, and all the arms and ammunition; Fairfax lying before Oxford, sent out a party of horse and foot, under Colonel Rainsborough, to summon

Gaunt House; the governor whereof, though at first he answered, he liked not Windebank law, yet seeing Rainsborough ready to storm it, he surrendered upon quarter.

The King with his army marching toward Chester, carried such a terror with him, that made Sir William Brereton quit the siege, and so his work being done, he wheels about, and sits down before Leicester, sending a summons to the town, who desires respite till next morning; the trumpeter returning, a drum was sent, requiring an answer within a quarter of an hour, which time while they within spend in debate, the King's cannons play upon the town from the battery, and all are commanded to their charge in order to a storm; the contest continued a day and a night, and the town was stormed at six or seven places, and May 31st was entered; the committee-men with the governor, Col. Gray, and Hackey were taken prisoners, much ammunition and the plunder of the town sent to the King's garrisons thereabouts, those that escaped fled to Rockingham Castle, and from thence the King triumphant marches towards Northampton, and faces that town. In the west, Goring, Hepton, and Greenville united their forces, and fall upon Welden's Brigade, whom they forced to retreat to Taunton in great disorder, and where there somewhat streightened. Fairfax was now ordered to rise before Oxford, and Cromwell marcheth into the associated counties, to prevent the King's irruptions into them, and Col. Vermuden was to join with the Scots with a party of 2500 horse and foot, in case the King should advance northward June 5. Their army had a general rendezvous at Great Brickhill, where they had news the King was about Daventry; thereupon it was resolved to give him battle, to which end Cromwell is sent for, with 600 horse and dragoons; Vermuden likewise returns, and Fairfax sends post for Sir John Gell, Col. Rossiter, and the governors of Coventry, Warwick, Northampton and Nottingham, to march with all speed with their forces to the general, because there was like to be a speedy engagement. The King's forces lay still about Daventry and Burrough-hill, which being a place of great advantage, it was thought he had chosen it to fight upon; but his design was (having relieved Oxford with store of cattle and sheep) to march for the relief of Pontefract, and Scarborough; but Fairfax marcheth to Gilborough, within four miles of Northampton, and five of Burrough-hill; and both armies lying near each other, the Fairfaxians alarm the royalists, and take some prisoners, the King being then abroad. June 13, the King drew off from Burrough-hill to Harborough, designing for Pontefract, thinking if he were followed, it would be more advantage to fight further north-

ward. Fairfax sends out Ireton with a flying party of horse, who fall upon a party of the King's rear, quartered in Naseby town, takes many prisoners, some of the Prince's life-guard, and Langdale's brigade, and gives such an alarm to the whole army, that the King at midnight leaves his own quarters, and for security hastens to Harborough, where the van of his army was quartered, raises Prince Rupert, and calls a council of war, where it was resolved to give battle, and because Fairfax had been so forward, they would no longer stay for him, but seek him out. Fairfax was come from Gillingham to Gilling, and from thence to Naseby, where both armies drawn up in battalia faced each other.

Saturday, June 14, was fought that unfortunate battle which proved so fatal to the King and his cause. His Majesty commanded the main body; Prince Rupert, and Prince Maurice the right wing; Sir Mar-maduke Langdale the left; the Earl of Lindsey, and the Lord Ashley the right hand reserve; the Lord Bards, and Sir G. Lisle the left. Of the Parliament's army Fairfax and Skippon commanded the main body; Cromwell the right wing, with whom was Colonel Rossiter, who came with his forces but a little before the fight; and Ireton had the left; the reserves were brought up by Rainsborough, Hammond, and Pride. Prince Rupert charged the Parliament's left wing, commanded by Ireton, who made a notable resistance, but at last was forced to give ground, Ireton himself being run through the thigh with a pike, and into the face with an halbert, his horse shot under him, and himself taken prisoner; for a while Rupert follows the chase almost to Naseby town, and in his return summoned the train of baggage and provisions, who made no other answer but with their firelocks; but in the mean time Cromwell chargeth furiously on the King's left wing, and got the better, forcing them from the body, and prosecuting the advantage, quite broke them and their reserve, during which the main bodies had charged with incredible fierceness, often retreating, and often rallying, falling in together with the but ends of musquets, and coming to handy blows with their swords; but Fairfax's foot coming up seasonably to the horse, and Cromwell coming in with his victorious right wing, they all charged together upon the King's main army, who, unable to endure any longer, retired out of the field toward Leicester, and Prince Rupert, who now too late returned from his too eager pursuit, seeing the day lost, accompanied them in their flight, leaving (as Heaven would have it) a complete victory to the Parliamentarians, who pursued them within two miles of Leicester, and the King finding the pursuit so hot, leaves the town, and hastens

to Litchfield. The battle was exceeding bloody, both armies being very courageous and numerous; and not 500 odds, fought in a large fallow field on the north-west side of Naseby, about a mile broad, which ground was wholly taken up. On the Parliament's side were wounded and slain above 1000 officers and private soldiers. Major-Gen. Skippon (who was an old experienced soldier, and was ordered to draw up the battle) fought stoutly that day, and though he was so sorely wounded in the beginning of the fight, and the General desired him to go off the field, he answered, "He would not stir so long as a man could stand." Ireton was dangerously hurt, and taken prisoner for a while, after he had done his part; but in the confusion of the fight got loose again, and saw the victory achieved. The General and Lieutenant-General performed their part with sufficient resolution (had their cause been as good), and by their own examples infused valour into their followers; so likewise did the other officers, of whom divers were wounded.

On the other side the King shewed himself that day a courageous general, keeping close with his horse, and himself in person rallying them to hot encounters; the Earl of Lindsey, Lord Ashby, Colonel Rastol, and others, were wounded; 20 colonels, knights, and officers of note, and 600 private soldiers slain; but much more was the damage the King sustained by what was taken, that is, 6 colonels, 8 lieutenant-colonels, 18 majors, 70 captains, 8 lieutenants, 200 ensigns, with divers other inferior officers, 4500 common soldiers, and many women; 13 of the King's household servants, 4 of his footmen, 12 pieces of ordnance, 8000 arms, 40 barrels of powder, 200 carriages, all their bag and baggage with store of rich pillage, 3000 horses, the King's standard, one of the King's coaches, and his cabinet of letters and papers, which not without indecency were afterwards published by the Parliament. Sir Marmaduke Langdale hastened away the same night to Newark. The next day the General sent up Colonel Fines with the prisoners and colours taken in the fight; and with this comes news of several other successes, as the gaining of Houghton garrison, near Grantham, and Sir William Brereton's beating a party of the King's forces in Cheshire, and taking 150 prisoners; and 400 prisoners taken in fight by a party from Shrewsbury, and the taking Major Fenningham, and divers others by Captain Stone. Sir John Gell marching with 2000 horse, in his way took 90 prisoners of the King's scattered horse, and some Newark garrison, and then joining with Fairfax, they sat down before Leicester, which after several assaults was surrendered by the Lord Hastings, governor, upon honourable terms. In it were 14

pieces of ordnance, 30 colours, 2000 arms, 500 horse, 50 barrels of powder, and other ammunition proportionable. And June 28, Sir Thomas Glenham after a long siege despairing of succour, yields up Carlisle to the Parliament. But however Taunton was yet in a low condition, and therefore Fairfax was ordered thither, who by the way meets with a multitude of rustical people called Clubmen, declaring themselves Newters, and desired safe passage for the commissioners to go both to the King and Parliament, to which the General returned a civil answer, but that not satisfying them, Fairfax having joined with Massey, soon frightened them into more moderation, so that the army passed quietly on their journey.

Gen. Goring hearing of the approach of Fairfax, drew off from Taunton, having received considerable loss from Colonel Robert Blake the governor, and soon after Fairfax following Goring, puts the royalists to a disorderly retreat, and pressing fiercely upon them, pursues them almost to Bridgwater, and in Sutton Field, near Langport, July 10, there was a sharp engagement, in which there was not much odds in the number slain, they being in all judged to be about 1100; of the King's party there were 1400 prisoners taken, about 1200 horse, Colonel Feningham, Colonel Slingsby, divers officers of quality, and 30 prisoners. Soon after Sir Thomas Fairfax sat down before Bridgwater, and after summons he assaulted the town very desperately, winning the lower part thereof, and then sends a second summons, telling them, That their denial wrought no other thoughts of compassion in him but only to women and children, who might suffer by the Governor's obstinacy, and so divers ladies, gentlewomen, and children came out of the town; and then the General being better provided with materials for his work, gave the second assault, some stormed, others fired with granadoes, and slugs of hot iron; and the wind serving their turn, it wrought such effect, that the Governor, Colonel Windham, moved therewith, surrendered the town upon condition only of fair quarter, and the town to be preserved from plunder. This was done July 23, 1645, there being 1000 officers and soldiers prisoners, 44 barrels of powder, 1500 arms, 44 pieces of ordnance, and 400 weight of match. In the north, Pomfret Castle, and Scarborough were taken by the Parliament's forces, and soon after the town of Bath was surrendered to Colonel Okey. In the mean time the Clubmen continued their meetings, and Colonel Fleetwood seized 50 of the ringleaders at Shaftesbury, yet this would not reduce them, they being still about 4000, whereupon Cromwell endeavours by parley to reduce them to reason; which not succeeding, he falls upon them, kills

some, disperseth the rest, and takes 400 prisoners, which defeat utterly quelled them.

About this time the King marching up and down Wales to raise supplies, he comes thence to Litchfield, and by the way fights a party of Scotch horse and dragoons, then marches to Ashburn, beats Sir John Gell, and carries some prisoners with him to Welbeck house, and so ranging up and down with a flying army, takes Huntingdon, Cambridge, and St. Ives, which last place he fined 500*l.*; thence he went to Oweburne, and so to Oxford, August 28, where he staid not long, but advanced to Ludlow, earnestly intent upon the relief of Chester, then close besieged by Sir William Brereton. Mr. G. Poyns with a party of horse was appointed to attend the King's motion, and followed him so close, that on Routon Heath, two miles off Chester, they came to a fight, where Poyns was forced to give ground, and had been utterly overthrown, if Colonel Jones had not come in with a new supply from Brereton, which encouraged Poyns to rally, and so the King being beset both rear and front, forsook the field, and betook himself to Chester, which finding much weakened by batteries, and the assailants ready to storm, he went from thence to Wales. Fairfax was now before Sherborn Castle, and the Governor, Sir Lewis Dives, not hearkening to any summons, endured a furious storm, and after an extreme cruel fight, and much bloodshed on both sides, the castle was yielded upon quarter, August 15, with 400 prisoners, many of them persons of quality, 18 pieces of ordnance, and a mortar-piece. Then Nunney Castle, and Portshead Point were surrendered to the Parliament; and Fairfax besieged Bristol, sufficiently provided with all necessaries, and defended by Prince Rupert, to whom Fairfax sends a summons to deliver the city, for preventing bloodshed; Prince Rupert desired leave to send to the King, which being denied, he offers to surrender up the place upon condition, That every man should march away in the height of honour, with their arms; colours flying, drums, trumpets, and as much powder and match as they could carry about them, with bag, baggage, horse, arms, 10 guns, and 50 barrels of powder; lastly, the lines and fortifications to be slighted, and the city to be no more a garrison.

Fairfax sends answer satisfactory enough, but not in reference to the dismounting the place; so that Prince Rupert having by several attempts done as much as possible for preserving the place, was forced at last to surrender. In this city were found 140 pieces of cannon mounted, 100 barrels of powder, victuals in the royal fort for 150 men for 320 days, the castle victualled for nearly half so long; the Prince

had in garrison 2500 foot, 1000 horse, besides the trained bands and auxiliaries above 1000, so that the gaining thereof was of great consequence to the Parliament. Soon after, the Devises, Winchester, Basing-house, Lameck-house, Barkley-Castle, and Chepstow were taken; so that in earnest, the King's condition being very low, for having again got together a good body of horse out of Wales, he resolved to send the Lord Digby, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale with 1600 horse to join with Montross, who had of late much prevailed in Scotland against the Covenanters; they accordingly marched into Yorkshire, and near Sherborn surprised 800 foot of the Parliamentarians, with their arms; but staying for carriages, Colonels Copley, Lilburn, and others, came upon them with their forces and routed them, recovered all, and took 400 prisoners, and 600 horse, Digby's coach and cabinet of letters. Digby with the rest fly northwards, and at Carlisle-Sands are the second time defeated, by Sir John Brown, 100 of them slain, 200 horse taken, and many prisoners. In their flight toward Beeston Castle, they were again met with, by Colonel Briggs, who took 200 of them, besides 150 of them flying through Westmorland were seized by Vandrusk; so that the Lord Digby, with a very small retinue, fled over to the Isle of Man, and thence into Ireland, to the Earl of Ormond. Thus the Parliament thrived every where, for Tiverton, Longford-house, Carmarthen, Monmouth, Shelford-house near Newark, Worton, Wiverton, and Welbeck were about this time taken by their forces. And Hereford having been long besieged, was, December 18, thus taken by surprize; the Governor had issued out warrants for the country people to come in to work in the town, which Colonels Morgan and Birch understanding, they march from Gloucester to Hereford in one night, with about 2000 horse and foot, and picking out some lusty fellows, they clothed them in the habit of country labourers, and one of them seemed to be a constable with a warrant in his hand, to bring these fellows to work according to the Governor's orders; 150 firelocks were lodged in the dark as near the city as possible, and another body to second them; so the bridge is let down, the supposed constable and his consorts enter, and presently take an occasion to quarrel with the guard, and kill three of them. Then come in the firelocks, and after Colonel Birch, and lastly Colonel Morgan with the whole body; these soon mastered the unaware surprized garrison, with small loss on either side, wherein were 11 pieces of ordnance, much arms and ammunition, the Lord Brudenel and Judge Jenkins, 14 knights, 4 lieutenants, 3 captains, 100 other officers and gentlemen, with which action Morgan and Birch gained much honour.

Chester had been long besieged, and much of the King's hope was reposed in that city, the Lord Byron was Governor, and Sir William Brereton lay long before it, but now is taken by the Parliamentarians, after a resolute fight, 100 royalists being slain, and 400 taken prisoners; whereupon the town was surrendered upon honourable conditions. About which time the Court of Wards and Liveries is voted down by the Parliament. The King being come to Newark as a place of greatest security, a strange quarrel happened amongst the great ones there, concerning the Lord Digby, lately defeated at Sherborn, whom Major-General Charles Gerard charged with treason; with him sided the two Princes Rupert and Maurice, the Lord Hawly, and Sir Rich. Willis; but Bellasis, the Governor, stood up for Digby, with divers others. The contention grew hot, from words they came to swords, and the King coming in to part them, increased the feud by siding for Digby; whereupon Prince Rupert, and the rest of the contrary party, to the number of 400, in much disgust laid down their commissions, and depart to another place, where they stand upon their guard, and so the King departs for Oxford with a guard of 300 horse, whom Poyns meets with at their return, and routs them, and then takes in Belvoir Castle, and not long after the Countess of Derby surrenders up her house at Latham to the Parliament. The King at Oxford, with Princes Rupert and Maurice now reconciled, was blocked up by the Parliament's forces; whereupon he commands a fast to be observed every Friday during his troubles.

In the mean time a treaty was agitated between the King and Parliament, the King desiring to come to a personal treaty with the two Houses at Westminster, and with some likelihood of a good effect; when all was blasted on a sudden by a discovery of certain transactions between the King and the Irish, gathered out of several letters taken at Sherborn, in the Lord Digby's coach, and others found in the pockets of the Bishop of Traine, slain at the battle of Sligo in Ireland; all which transactions were represented with very untoward reflections upon the King's honour and credit, as if the King to get supplies from the Irish rebels, resolved to make peace with them upon any terms, though ever so dishonourable, that is, The granting them an absolute toleration of religion, the allowing them to chose a governor of their own, the intrusting them with several castles and forts for their caution. And to aggravate the matter the more, a commission directed to the Earl of Clanrickard is produced, which made shew of some clandestine negotiations between his Majesty and the Earl about concluding a peace with the rebels.

In answer to which, the King in two messages, the first of January 17, the other of January 24, remonstrates to them how ill a ground these allegations were for them to refuse to come to a treaty of peace with him, since their disloyalty in taking up arms against their lawful Sovereign compelled him to take such courses for the vindicating and defending his person and rights as were no way grateful to him, it being his greatest desire to put a period to these unhappy differences, and the effusion of any more Christian blood; and for the commission to the Earl of Clanrickard, he endeavoured to give them satisfaction by his message of January 29, wherein he declares that the Earl having, without his Majesty's knowledge, or the order and consent of the Lord Lieutenant and Council in Ireland, made conditions with the commissioners of the Roman Catholics, very much to the derogation of his honour, and the prejudice of the Protestant religion, he was so far from owning what was transacted by the said Earl in this kind, that he had not the least notice of the Earl's treating with those commissioners, much less of his concluding those articles with them, so prejudicial to religion and his Majesty's honour, till such time as he had advertisement of his being arrested and restrained for his presumption; his commission being only for raising what forces he could there, and conducting them over hither for his Majesty's service. It is not denied but that the Marquis of Ormond had a commission granted him to treat about a peace with the Irish; but it was as much for the ease and relief of the Protestant subjects, as for any other respects, they having been harrassed with continual war, and but sparingly supplied with those aids which they had been so liberally promised.

Thus did the King labour to remove all objections that might give them any occasion to cavil against him, and thereby obstruct their coming to a treaty of peace with him; and notwithstanding his former messages were wholly neglected and unanswered, he sent them another, January 29, still pressing his former desires, yet all came to nothing; the Parliament's commissioners when they came to treat, being bound up so strictly to the rigour of their demands, though the King offered to come to the Houses in person, upon assurance of his safety, and to advise with them for the good and safety of the kingdom, provided all that have adhered to his Majesty may have liberty to go to their own homes in safety, and their sequestrations to be taken off, upon which condition the King was willing to disband all his soldiers, dismantle his garrisons, and pass an act of oblivion and free pardon to all. But these things being not consented to, the hopes of reconciliation vanished.

The town of Monmouth was now taken by the Parliament's forces, and soon after Dartmouth town and castle were yielded to Sir Thomas Fairfax. In the town were 12 guns, and proportionable ammunition; in the castle 120 ordnance mounted, and two men of war before it were taken: shortly after a French vessel, not knowing the town was taken, struck into Dartmouth with a packet of letters from the Queen, which being seized, discovered the whole negociation of the King with France. Then Hopton is routed at Tonnington; and Saltash and Mount Edgcomb are reduced, and Prince Charles finding the pursuit so hot, embarked for Scilly: all things succeeded so happily with Fairfax, that after several successes, the Lord Hopton desired a cessation; but Fairfax summons him to lay down arms, upon which ensued a treaty at Tresilian Bridge, Fairfax quartering at Truro, and the Lord Hopton further westward, where at length, March 13, these articles were agreed upon: That the Lord Hopton should disband his army in the west, and himself should have fifty of his own, and fifty of Fairfax's horse for his convoy to Oxford; all strangers to have passes to go beyond seas, and carry with them what is their own, without horses or arms; all English officers to go home to their habitations, or if they will, beyond sea; each Colonel to have his horse, and two men and horses to wait on them; each Captain one man and horse; the troopers twenty shillings a piece, and to go where they please. But Hopton hearing of the effects of the propositions of peace, changed his course from Oxford, and sailed into France. After the disbanding these forces, all the King's garrisons and forts in Cornwall yielded, except Pendennis Castle, and St. Michael's Mount; and Fairfax returned to the siege at Exeter.

The King's forces in the mean time had not been idle, but moved up and down in flying parties to their best advantage. The King, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and Prince Maurice were at Oxford, closely surrounded by the Parliament's forces, their horses being about Farrington, expecting the Lord Ashly with his foot to join with them; but he was met by Sir William Brereton, and Colonel Morgan, at Stow in the Wold, upon the edge of Gloucester, where he was totally defeated, and himself taken prisoner, 1500 horse and foot, with his baggage, ammunition, and some of the King's letters. But in Scotland the King's affairs succeeded better this year, where the Earl of Montross prospered incredibly, defeating the covenanters in several battles; yet his prosperity was short lived, for the Highlanders, Irish, and others leaving him, David Lesley, whom the covenanters had privately sent for out of England, came upon him with 6000 men,

most horse, and put him to flight; and the next year the King having intrusted himself with the Scots army in England, sent an herald to Montross with command to lay down arms and disband, and to pass over into France, till his Majesty's further pleasure, which orders he readily obeyed; and by this means the covenanters were at leisure to put some of their capital enemies to death, and to quarrel with the Parliament about some differences at that time arising.

The next year 1646,—The Commons begin with disabling all Members absent with the King, from ever sitting in the House, and empower the Speaker to give Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown for new Elections in their places; the Prince of Wales being in Scilly, the Parliament invite them to come to them, but he would not venture; after which some overtures were made for a peace, but all came to nothing; the King had formerly offered to come to the Parliament, in order to a personal treaty, which not being relished by the Parliament, divers severe orders are issued out against the King's party; and now the war is almost brought to a period, for the King's forces being beaten out of the field, and the garrisons surrender apace, Dennington Castle, St. Michael's Mount, Ruthen Castle, Woodstock, and others yield to the Parliament; Exeter after a long siege is delivered to Fairfax upon articles, and soon after Barnstable also; and now General Fairfax resolves to march for Oxford, which put the King upon

providing safety and April 13th of Oxford with Mr. Minister, and Ashburnham; want he per-got to the before New-



thoughts of for his own therefore on he came out in disguise Hudson a Mr. John whose ser-onated, and Scots Army ark, May.

6th. whereupon divers Noblemen, as if they had been deserted by the King yielding to Fairfax: but Sir Thomas Glenham the Governor still held out the City, and upon being summoned, desired to send to the King about it, which being refused, after a treaty of some weeks it was delivered up to Fairfax, on very honourable terms; Prince Rupert Prince Maurice and divers others transporting themselves beyond the sea. In the City were found 70 barrels of powder, 38 pieces of ordinance, whereof 26 brass, and great provisions of victual. The Duke

of York was carried to St. James's, where he met with his sister the Princess Henrietta Maria, who had been sent thither from the surrender of Exeter, but was shortly after conveyed over into France by her governess the Lady Dalkeith.

Oxford being taken, it was in vain for the lesser garrisons to stand out, and thereupon news comes daily of the surrenders of Banbury, Borstall, Carnarvon, Ludlow, Lithfield, Worcester, Wallingford, Gothridg, Pendennis Castle, and Ragland Castle; the Scots also were at last persuaded to set down before Newark, and the besieged make frequent sallies on their enemies, killing and taking many; but the King being come to the Scottish camp, sends in his desires to Governor Bellasis to deliver up the town to the English, in obedience whereunto it was upon honourable conditions surrendered to Colonel Poyns, in May 1646. The seals being sent from Oxford to Westminster, were according to the vote of the two houses broken in the house of Lords in the presence of the Commons; the war in England being now after much bloodshed brought to some end, the Parliament were at leisure to dispute with the Scots concerning their keeping the King; who fearing least Fairfax should fall upon them, and compel them to deliver him up, retreated farther northward to Newcastle; the Parliament sent a second invitation to the Prince of Wales to come to London, with promise of honour and safety, but he did not think fit to venture; Sept. the 14th the Earl of Essex died of an apoplexy, and the Parliament in respect to his former services voted 3000 pounds to be given towards his funeral, which was performed with great pomp; soon after General Fairfax marches to London, being met by the city trained bands, and had the public thanks of both Houses, and a congratulation from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Recorder of the City.

The King sends from Newcastle to the Parliament about a treaty, and the House of Commons vote, that the King's person be demanded of the Scots, and that the whole of the army return home upon receipt of part of their arrears, the rest to be sent after them, and a committee be appointed to treat with the Scotch commissioners, about drawing up propositions to be sent to the King, wherein much time was spent in wrangling, whilst the English deny the Scots to have any right in the disposal of their King of England, and the Scots as stiffly alledged, he was their King as much as of the English, and they had as good right to dispose of the King in England as the English could challenge in Scotland; but at last they agreed upon 16 general propositions, which were presented to the King at Newcastle, July 27, 1646, by the Earls of Suffolk and Pembroke, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Hipsley, Mr.

Goodyn, and Mr. Robinson, who were limited to ten days. The King returned answer, that their propositions imported so great an alteration of Government both in Church and State, derogated so much from his prerogative, and imposed such hard conditions upon him in reference to his friends and adherents, and likewise that their commissioners were so bound up from any capacity either of giving reasons for their demands they brought, or giving ear to such desires as His Majesty should propound, that it was impossible for him with any satisfaction to his conscience to give such an answer to their propositions as that thereby a well grounded peace might ensue; and withal he urges his desire of coming to London there to treat personally; but this desire however reasonable, they refuse, nor would permit the French King to interpose by his Ambassador.

The Scot's general assembly send a remonstrance to the King, desiring him to settle matters in England according to the covenant, and Chancellor Lowdon told him plainly, that there was no other means for him to close with his two houses, and that unless he did it, if he lost England, he should not be permitted to come and reign in Scotland; but all this could not prevail, and therefore the Scots who had hitherto so sharply disputed about the disposal of his person, are content with the receipt of two hundred thousand pounds to depart home, and leave the King in the power of Parliament, who voted him to Holmby house, and sent their Commissioners the Earls of Pembroke, Denbigh, Lord Montague, Sir James Harrington, Sir John Holyland, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Cook, Mr. Crew, and M. G. Brown, to receive him from the Scots at Newcastle, to whom February the 8th 1646, he was accordingly delivered, and leaving Newcastle in the possession of the English, they marched homeward. February the 8th, the King sad and sorrowful sets forward with the Commissioners for Holmby attended with 900 horse, and after a fortnight came to his journey's end, being met by the way by General Fairfax, and many of his officers.

The Parliament now freed from opposition, break out among themselves, dividing into several parties under the title of Presbyterians and Independants, and March 19, a vote was passed for disbanding part of the army, and dismantling many garrisons, which much discontented the army, who knowing their own power, drew near to London and Westminster, and frame a petition, whereat the City being startled, they likewise draw up their petition and pray, that the Parliament would command that the army be forthwith removed, and after with

all speed disbanded, and that the City may make yearly Election of their own Militia; and so ends this year.

In Ireland all things had gone to wrack for these last four years; but now the Parliament send over Colonel Monk with about 2000 horse and foot, who had some success against the Irish; but the Parliament resolving to prosecute the war vigorously, send over 8400 foot besides officers, with 9000 horse, and 1800 dragoons; all which were taken out of General Fairfax's army, which caused much animosity between the army and parliament; and though men might reasonably have expected that the 23d year of his Majesty's Reign should have begun with a sunshine of settlement, so desirable after such storms of war, yet such hopes were blasted by these dissensions; the army being offended with the Parliament for disbanding them, and being encouraged by pretended petitions from several Counties to the General, not to disband till the peace of the Kingdom were fully settled; they drew up a petition which was presented to Parliament by Lt. Gen. Hammond and others, desiring provision for pardon and indemnity; their arrears to be paid; that the foot soldiers may not be prest out of the Kingdom, nor horsemen serve on foot, that the widows and children of such as were slain in their service might be provided for, and that they may receive pay to discharge their quarters, and not burthen the Country till the army be disbanded. This offended the Parliament, who declared their high dislike of it, and voted, that such as continued in this way of acting should be proceeded against as enemies of the state.

Some petitions from Essex and other places are presented to the Parliament, inveighing against the proceedings of the army; which much vexes the soldiers, who sharply apologize for themselves, and utterly refuse the service of Ireland till satisfaction were given to their desires; the difference was likely to have grown wider, but to close the breach, Commissioners are chosen on both sides to procure a right understanding; but the army judged that it would be to their advantage if they could get the King into their hands, and therefore June the 3d 1647, Cornet Joyce was sent to Holmby with 500 horse, who brought away the King from thence with the Parliaments Commissioners, who would by no means leave him, promising him, that he should have no violence offered to his person; that his trunks and papers should not be rifled nor tumbled; that he should be attended with such servants against whom there could be no just exception, and that nothing should be imposed on him contrary to his conscience; and so he was conveyed to Childersly, and thence by his own desire to New-market, this the General certifies in a letter to the Parliament, affirming it to be done

without his consent, and that the reason alledged by the actors was, because certain persons had designed to take away his Majesty, thereby to gather strength to make a new war, which they were able and ready to prove.

And now the army to the great terror of the Parliament march toward London, and came to St. Albans, notwithstanding a message from both Houses not to come within 25 miles of the City; which the General excuses, saying, that the army was come thither before they received the Parliament's desire; and here he obtains a month's pay; the Parliament vote, that the General be required to deliver the person of the King to the former Commissioners, who were to bring him to Richmond, that proposition of peace might be speedily presented to his Majesty, and that Colonel Rossiter and his Regiment might guard his person; to this the army would not consent, and therefore sent up their Representation, with these proposals, as the only effectual means to procure a stable settlement; that the houses may be speedily purged of such as out not to sit there; that such who abused the Parliament and army, and endanger the Kingdom, may speedily be disabled from doing the like or worse, that some determinate time may be set to this and future Parliaments, according to the intent of the Act for Triennial Parliaments, that provision may be made they may not be adjourned nor prorogued without their own consent, during such a certain time, and then to determine themselves; that the freedom of the people (to prevent Grievances) by petitioning the Parliament, may be vindicated. That the exorbitant power of country committees may be taken away; that the Kingdom may be satisfied in the Parliaments accounts for the vast sums received, and also in divers other things wherein the Common-wealth hath been abused; that after delinquents have passed their compositions, an act of oblivion may be passed.

The Parliament being divided into two parties, the independents countenanced the army, and the Presbyterians the City in high manner against the army; of whom they would fain have rid themselves, by sending a great part of them into Ireland, and disbanding all the rest; to prevent which, they had in readines an impeachment against 11 of them; for retarding the relief of Ireland; for acting many things against the laws and liberties of the people, and for obstructing the Courts of Justice, all which was offered to be proved against them; there names were Denzil Hollis, Esq. Sir Phillip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clothworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Major General Massey, Mr. Glynn Recorder of London, Colonel Walter Long, Colonel Edward Harley, and Anthony

Nichols, Esq. and with this charge they delivered in a paper, desiring the accused Members to be forthwith suspended from sitting in the house; this was judged a great intrenchment upon Parliament; but the army persisted, the 11 Member first forebore the House, and afterward obtained leave to travel for six months; yet to give some satisfaction to the Parliament, the army removed further off from London, having the King continually near them, who had a great desire to see his children, which he obtained by a letter from Fairfax to the Parliament. The 11 Members being gone, the army-part in the House of Commons began to prevail, for a vote was passed for taking the London Militia out of the hands of the city, and transferring it to others better affected to the army; and it was made treason to procure Subscriptions to petitions, upon which great multitudes of apprentices, and others flocked to Westminster in a mutinous manner, clamouring at the Parliament doors, and requiring that vote should be repealed before the Members should pass out of the House, and forcing the Speaker back into the Chair; constrained him and them to sit till they extorted this vote from them; that the King should come to London, and the City have their Militia restored to them; and then the Parliament adjourned for four days.

The General, for the ease of the country, was removed to Bedford, hearing of this, marches up towards London, and sends before him a letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, wherein he signifies his resentment of the late outrage, and requires justice to be done to the offenders; in his way at Hounslow he met with by the Speakers of both Houses, and such of the Members as sided with the army, who complained of the affront and injurious violence offered them, and there they consult together how to get the City without blood; in the mean time the contrary party meet in Parliament, and chuse new Speakers, the 11 Members being again admitted, and the first thing done is, the confirming the last extorted votes, and to put the City in a posture of defence, ordering soldiers to be enlisted, and Major General Massey, Colonel Poyns, and Sir W. Waller to have the command of them, and the citizens published a declaration against the army, yet matters were not so clearly carried, but upon Fairfax's approach, many dissensions arose in their counsels; and at Guildhall they fell from words to blows, divers being wounded and some slain, and lastly the Court of Aldermen conclude to write to the General, excusing themselves, and charging the fault on some particular persons; Fairfax sends a brigade under Rainsborough and Hewson over Kingston-bridge to Southwark, who take in the great fort on the

highway to Lambeth; the Common Council speed away many messages for pacification, which the General with the consent of the Members of Parliament then present, granted upon condition, that they should desert the Parliament then sitting, and the 11 impeached members, and to deliver up the Tower and their other forts, which they were glad to submit to; presently a declaration was published for making void all acts passed by the Members at Westminster, since July the 26th last past.

August the 6th 1647, General Fairfax marched in triumph to Westminster, and re-established the disturbed members of Parliament receiving their public thanks for vindicating them from the injurious usage as they complained of the citizens, and the next day he marched through the City with his whole army, being twenty thousand horse and foot to the Tower, and a month's pay was given to the army as a gratuity for their good service in suppressing the late insurrection, but the Excise was thought fit to be continued; the General had his headquarters at Kingston, and the King was settled at Hampton Court with his children about him, whither the Earl of Ormond repaired to him, having by his command quitted his Government in Ireland to the Parliament's Commissioners; inquiry being now made into the actors and fomentators of the late transactions, they were proceeded against at the discretion of the Judges; Mr. Glynn was turned out of his Recordership, Sir John Maynard was impeached of treason, Hollis, Waller, Clothworthy, Massey, Long and Nicholls were summoned to attend the House. October 16th. Sir John Gayer, Lord Mayor, and four Aldermen, Culham Bunch, Langham and Adams were accused and committed to the Tower, and the Earls of Lincoln, Suffolk and Middlesex, with the Lord Berkly, Maynard, Hunsden and Willoughby of Parban were committed to the Black Rod; but care was now taken to pull down the pride of the City, for both Houses order the casting down of all works about it and the dividing the Militia, impowering the City of Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and the Hamlets about the Tower, each to have its distinct Militia of itself.

The army being much behind in arrears, petition the Parliament, who upon consideration, order them some money at the present, and then drew up propositions for peace to be sent to the King at Hampton Court, the same in substance as those offered at Newcastle, and had the like effect, the business of Episcopacy being always the main objection, which the Parliament were resolved to abolish, and the King preferring the satisfaction of his conscience before all other respects, would rather lose all than consent thereto; and in his answer of Sept.

the 9th seemed rather to incline to the army than Parliament, which giving them great occasion of distast, is thought to have contributed much to his prejudice. About this time the Parliament vote six thousand foot, and two thousand four hundred horse, and dragoons, to be sent into Ireland, and seven thousand two hundred horse, and a thousand dragoons to be kept as a standing army in England, soon after the officers to provide for themselves, elected out of every regiment a certain number of soldiers to meet and consult, by the name of Agitators; who together draw up a large letter to Fairfax, full of compliments, desiring, that he would take some course to settle the Nation in peace, and to secure those who had fought against the King, from standing in any need of asking him pardon of receiving indemnity from him; that Parliaments may be determined to certain periods of time, and that care be taken for the due election of Members for the future; and for the payment of the army's arrears, that they may not be burthensome to the country; to whom Sir Thomas answers, that he had a good opinion of the honesty of their intentions, and referred their desires to the general council of officers.

The Scots commissioners send a letter, November 6, 1647, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and require that the King may be admitted to a personal treaty, or at least that he should not be carried from Hampton Court violently, as he was from Holmby House, but that commissioners of both Parliaments may freely pass to and from him, to treat for the settlement of the kingdoms. This put the Parliament upon preparing new propositions. During which time the King is informed, that his person was in some hazard by the agitators, who were contriving some design to take away his life; whereupon he consults with Sir John Berkly, Mr. Ashburnham, and Colonel William Legg how to prevent the danger, and among them it is resolved to escape to the Isle of Jersey, to which end a ship is prepared to take him in about Southampton, and horses are lodged near Hampton Ferry; and thus November 11, withdrawing himself, as usual, before evening prayer, he with his three forementioned confidants escaped to his horses by the way of Paradise, a place so called in the garden, and rode away, leaving behind him a letter to the Parliament, which was afterward delivered them, wherein he promised to break through this cloud of retirement, and shew himself to be really a father of his country, if he might be heard with freedom, honour, and safety; but the King coming to the seashore, found himself disappointed of the ship; whereupon it was concluded, that the King and Colonel Legg should go to the Countess Dowager of Southampton's house at Teds-

worth, whilst the Lord Berkly and Ashburnham ferried over to the Isle of Wight, to Governor Hammond, of whom the King had some hopes, because of his brother, Doctor Hammond, who was his Majesty's chaplain, to whom they were to signify in general, that the King having escaped from eminent danger of assassination, was willing to cast himself upon his fidelity, if he would engage upon oath for the safety and liberty of his person. Hammond would engage for his safety, but not for his liberty, and they fearing to be taken into custody, came over with him to the Lady's house, where the King was; who found that he was necessitated to cast himself with an unwilling willingness upon Colonel Hammond's protection; who presently certifies the Parliament of it, and they being well contented therewith, ordered his continuance there, with the same attendance, and no other, that he had at Hampton Court.

The King being at Carisbroke Castle, writes a letter to the Parliament, and another to the Scots commissioners, wherein he professes, that he cannot either as a Christian or a King, consent to the abolishing episcopal hierarchy, because he judged it apostolical, and had sworn at his coronation to maintain it, but he was willing that the Presbyterian government should continue for three years, and a free debate to be had between the divines assembled at Westminster, and twenty that he should appoint, about the settlement of church government for the future; he is also willing that the Parliament shall dispose of the militia, and have the choice of his privy counsellors during his reign, provided they have it by grant of patent from him, and that it return to his successors; and he is willing that the arrears of the army should be paid, and he will be ready to use his utmost endeavour for the raising of so much money. These and some other proposals he made, promising likewise to satisfy Scotland when he shall receive his desires; and still he pressed for a personal treaty, which the Parliament refuse, yet after three days debate they were content to admit it, provided he would sign these four bills, 1. That it be lawful for the future to order the militia without the King's consent, to raise what armies they please; all other under pain of treason to be prohibited to assemble to the number of thirty persons without authority of Parliament. 2. That it be lawful for the two Houses to sit, or adjourn their sitting to what place they please, and to assemble at what time soever at their own discretion. 3. That all oaths, interdictions, and declarations, set forth in public against either of the Houses, be accounted and declared void. 4. Whomsoever of the nobility the King hath dignified with titles from the time himself departed, and carried away

the great seal of the kingdom, that they shall be degraded of their honours; and these four bills to be passed into acts.

These propositions were carried to the King by the Earl of Denbigh; Lord Montague, Mr. Lisle, Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Kemp, and Mr. Bunkley; but the Scots commissioners follow, and protest against them, as too much intrenching on the King's honour, and contrary to the Parliaments former engagements, and protestation; and so the King refused to sign them, desiring the commissioners to tell the two Houses, that there were different interests to be complied with; namely, the Parliament, the army, and the Scots, and therefore he requested, that some means might be found to give content to all these, without which a well grounded peace could never be established. The King's refusal so offended the Commons, that they put it to the vote, whether any more addresses should be made to him, and after a long debate it was resolved, 1. That no addresses shall be hereafter made to him by the Parliament of England. 2. That none shall, under pain of treason, make any addresses without leave from the Parliament. 3. That no written paper, message, or declaration be received from his Majesty on penalty of treason; which votes were so well resented of the army, that having no further need of the agitators, they reduce them into order, and publish a declaration wherein they approve of the Commons proceedings, and their resolution to adhere, and stand by them in their votes, even against the King himself, or any other that should join with him; which the Lords perceiving, after many days tugging about it, they at last assented to the votes of the House of Commons. In the mean time Colonel Hammond had turned away the King's servants, and used him a little more severely than formerly, which occasioned a mutiny at Newport, the chief town in the Isle of Wight, where one Captain Burleigh beat up a drum for the King's service and delivery, but was soon suppressed, himself taken prisoner, and afterward hanged, drawn and quartered as a traitor; and more forces are sent at Colonel Hammond's request to secure the island.

And now both Houses vote, that a committee of the Derby House have a full power to transact the business of the whole kingdom, and to dispose as they shall think fit of the army commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who is now impowered to place and displace the King's attendants, provided he allow him not more than thirty, and soon after he becomes Lord Fairfax by the death of his father. About this time Judge Jenkins was brought to the bar of the House, where he refused to kneel. His charge was read against him; that he had passed sentence against men to be hanged, drawn, and quartered,

for not assisting against the Parliament ; that he took up arms himself, and stirred up others against them, and had charged them with counterfeiting the great seal ; which he was so far from denying or any way extenuating, that he boldly owned all, and more than they accused him of, endeavouring to terrify them with the numerousness of the royal issue ; and so provoked the House with his deportment and words, that he was fined 1000*l*. and the House voted a charge to be brought in against him. The Marquis of Ormond, after several capitulations, had yielded up the Irish government into the hands of the Parliament, by whom Colonel Jones was sent over with 1450 horse and foot, who took possession of Dublin, June 17, and is made governor of the city, at the same time that Sir Charles Coot defeated a party of the Irish ; and not to be idle, he marches out with 3000 men against General Preston, who being 8000 strong, routed him and put him to flight, doing much execution upon his forces in four miles pursuit ; but August 8, they came to a second encounter near Trym, where Colonel Jones revenged his former defeat, beat Preston out of his bog, killed 5470 foot soldiers, and 300 of the gentry, took 7000 arms, 4 pieces of cannon, and great pillage, with 150 oxen, and improving his victory, takes 13 other considerable castles. Soon after the Lord Inchequin gave a defeat to another party of the Irish in Munster, killing and taking 4000 men ; so that now the Parliament having no need of the Scottish forces in Ulster, were very earnest to have them recalled.

The year 1648, and the 24th of his Majesty's reign, begins with the visitation of the university of Oxford by the new Chancellor, the Earl of Pembroke, not without much resistance ; for the heads and principals would neither own the authority nor the covenant, for which many of them were outed their places, and others put in, and the Parliament vote, that all those who will not submit to their power shall be expelled the University, and all the college rents to be paid to the visitors by them appointed. This summer, the King, though a prisoner, was as formidable as ever since the late troubles, the very name of a King proving sufficient to raise considerable armies ; London itself was not free from mutiny, for April 9, the apprentices set upon part of the trained bands, whom they overpowered, and increasing hourly, divided into parties ; one whereof made towards Whitehall, but were repressed by the horse guards at the Mews, yet at night they join again, surprize Newgate and Ludgate, and shut up the gates ; then they seized a small ordnance from the Lord Mayor's house, which they place within Ludgate, the next morning they break open some gun-

smiths-shops for arms and ammunition, and mastered the magazine at Leadenhall, crying out for God and King Charles. But the next day General Fairfax entered Aldersgate with two regiments, marched to Leadenhall-street, and there charged the undisciplined multitude, who after a short tumultuary skirmish, were utterly dispersed with little or no loss.

But in Wales, Colonel Poyer, Governor of Pembroke Castle, refused to deliver up his charge upon demand, without full payment of his arrears; and Major-General Langhorn, for the same reason, denied to disband his men, and so both revolt, and Langhorn surprised Tenby Castle with the Parliament's commissioners in it, and now they grow bold, commanding contribution round about, and declare for the King. Colonel Horton is sent commander in chief against them with thirty companies of horse and foot, who sends out Colonel Flemming to gain a pass from Poyer, which he finds quitted to his hands, but going on, immediately falls into Poyer's ambuscade, by whom he is totally routed, and forced to fly with a few others to a neighbouring church, which finding himself unable to defend, he died as it is thought by his own sword, and the rest were taken prisoners. This success was attended with another, Chepstow Castle being taken by Sir Thomas Kemish, in the Governor's absence; but now the tide turns, for news come that Lieutenant-General Cromwell is advancing with a strong power to suppress them, which makes Langhorn resolve to fight Horton before his coming, who as willingly marched to meet him; and May 8, near St. Fagows, views his enemy near 8000 strong; but in disorder and unready to fight. In this condition Colonel Horton charged them, and obtained an easy victory, killed some, took 1500 officers, and 5000 common soldiers prisoners, Langhorn and Powel escaped by flight. Cromwell enters Wales, storms Tenby Castle, and has it yielded upon mercy, and Chepstow Castle was retaken by Colonel Ewer; but all this could not keep Sir John Owen quiet, who whilst Cromwell besieged Pembroke Castle, got together some forces in North Wales, which the county Sheriff would have surprised, but being too weak was defeated and taken prisoner, and shortly after the same fortune befel Owen himself, by the forces of Major-General Mitton. Pembroke town and castle stood out courageously for a long time; but at length were so distressed, that they willingly would have surrendered if they could have obtained any other conditions than to yield upon discretion; Cromwell gives a furious storm, which the besieged resolutely endured. But the Scottish invasion made him more inclinable to treat, and the town and castle was

delivered upon articles, July 13, Langhorn, Poyer, and three other principal actors to submit to the Parliament's mercy, the other commanders, knights and gentlemen, to depart the kingdom within six weeks, for two years, the rest to return to their own homes, and the town to enjoy their liberties and freedoms; those that submitted to mercy, were afterward tried as traitors, notwithstanding the Prince's letter to General Fairfax on their behalf, only they had the favour to cast lots for their lives, and so Colonel Poyer only suffered.

April 20, 1648, the Duke of York, disguised in women's apparel, made his escape from St. James's by water, and landed at Dort, in Holland, by the help of one Colonel Bampffield, sent over for that purpose by the Queen. The country now began to be displeased, that after such expence of men and money, there was yet no likelihood of a settlement, but rather a fearful expectation of new wars, and therefore resolve to petition; the county of Essex begins, desiring the Parliament, that the army may be disbanded, and the King admitted to a personal treaty; Surry follows, and desires the like, but only in higher terms, and being numerous, quarrel with the soldiers at Westminster, and came to blows, some hurt was done on both sides, but night parts the fray; London petitions to the same effect, and desire, that those prisoners who stood committed for the insurrection in Massey's business might be released; as they were soon after upon the city's constant adhering to the Parliament, and refusing to send aid to the Kentish men against Fairfax; and at their desire the militia was restored, and Major-General Skippon was appointed commander of the city and all the forces within the late lines of communication; the Lieutenant of the Tower was discharged, and Mr. West, citizen, put in his place, and Colonels Barkstead and Rich were ordered to draw their regiments out of Whitehall and the Mews, instead of which, the common council of the city order a guard for the Parliament, and 600*l.* yearly for their Major-General; and all this with the General's free consent and approbation. The Kentish men would not petition, but with their swords in their hands, and were up in arms in such considerable numbers, that it was thought fit for Fairfax himself to march against them, which he doth with 6000 foot, and 2000 horse; the Kentish men were near 2000, but unadvisedly parted their forces, and sent away a brigade to besiege Dover Castle. Fairfax advances, and defeats some near Gravesend, and others at Northfield; and the Kentish men not being prepared to fight, he comes to Maidstone, in which they were drawn up in a body, the town strongly manned, and well provided with ordnance, and barricaded. Fairfax having in-

crossed his army to 10000, falls to storming June 2, at seven at night, whilst those within fought stoutly both in the streets and from the houses, so that getting all by inches, after six hours fight, and much loss on his side, Fairfax got the victory; 200 Kentish were slain, and 1300 prisoners taken, divers of quality; 400 horse, 8 pieces of cannon, with good booty. Rochester after this was surrendered to Fairfax upon discretion. Many of the Kentish men got together under the old Lord Goring, and crossing the Greenwich Ferry into Essex, join with Sir Charles Lucas, who had raised 2000 horse and foot, and seized the Earl of Warwick's armory, and got into Colchester, which now becomes the seat of war, and the country flocked into them with a party from London, and the Lord Capel, and the Lord Loughborough, from Hertfordshire.

But Fairfax leaving Colonels Rich and Hewson to take in those places in Kent which himself had no time to reduce, crossed into Essex, and came before Colchester, surrounding it with a potent army. The seamen being now dissatisfied and mutinous, divers ships, with Vice-Admiral Batten, went to Prince Charles, who with a considerable fleet sets to sea, with his brother the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, the Earl of Brainford, the Lords Hopton, Wilmot, Willoughby, and Culpeper, and others of quality, and came into Yarmouth Road with 20 good men of war, and 2000 soldiers, where he would have landed; but hearing of Colonel Scroop's coming against him with a party of horse and foot, he sailed from thence to the Downs, seizing what merchant ships and goods he could meet withal. Deal Castle was at this time besieged, for the relief whereof, the Prince sets 500 men ashore, who at first charged handsomely, but being too weak, some were taken, others slain, and the rest got on board again. Soon after Sandwich, Deal, and Weymore Castles were yielded up, and all Kent fully reduced. Whilst the Prince anchors in the Downs, the States of Scotland invite him to them, and engage the public faith of that kingdom for his well being, in honour, freedom, and safety with them and their army in England, or where else he pleased; but he having written to the House of Lords for promoting the treaty with the King, and in vain summoned the Earl of Warwick, Admiral for the Parliament, to submit to him as chief Captain General under his Majesty, and wanting provisions, returned back with his fleet into Holland. But the Earl of Holland being commissioned from the Prince, raises forces just in the view of the Parliament, at Kingston upon Thames, assisted by the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Francis Villiers his brother, and the Earl of Peterborough, and July 2, they mustered

500 horse, and some foot, upon Kingston Heath, and from thence marched to Darking, designing to pass Rygate, but were prevented by Colonel Rich, and Major Gibbons, and therefore retreat from thence towards Kingston, closely pursued by the other; and sending their foot before, to secure their retreat to the town, they made a stand between Ewel and Nonsuch Park; the pursuers follow on, the fight was short and smart; the Lord Francis Villiers refusing quarter was slain, with Major Dalbier, and a son of Sir Kenelm Digby, and others; the rest put to flight, and many prisoners of note taken. The Earl of Holland was taken at St. Noet's, in Huntingdonshire, and sent prisoner to Warwick Castle, but the Duke of Buckingham escaped beyond sea.

Colchester holds out courageously, making frequent sallies on the besiegers with some success, hoping for relief from the north. The Parliament of Scotland having sat since last March, and were disgusted at the proceedings of the English against the King; so that notwithstanding the offers of the Parliament to pay their former arrears, and their inclination to settle the Presbyterian government here; yet they formed a Committee of Danger about English affairs, the major part whereof being Hamilton's faction, vote a war, which the others protest against, but to no purpose; and now the Scots publish their declaration, the heads whereof were: That his Majesty may come to London, or to some of his houses near, and that with safety; that reparation be made for carrying him away, or satisfaction by panishing them that did it; that the army under the Lord Fairfax be disbanded; that Presbytery be settled, Sectaries punished; that all the members of the House be restored. The royalists now flock apace to Edinburgh, and Wogan, a Captain in the English army, revolts to them with his troop, and two companies of foot landed out of Ireland at Cheshire, and marched thither likewise. Berwick is surprised by the royalists. Sir Thomas Glenham, and Sir P. Musgrave raise forces for the King in Westmoreland and Cumberland, with which they surprise Carlisle; and with them joins Sir Mar. Langdale with some horse, he being General of the English army for the King, and now being about 3000 strong, they coast about the northern counties. July 13, 1648, the Scots army entered England, the van led by Duke Hamilton; the main body by Major-General Middleton; and the rear by the Earl of Calender: these join with Langdale, and fall upon Major-General Lambert, near Appleby, forcing him to retire into the town, and from thence to Kirby Steven, and after to Bowes, leaving some of his forces behind him to defend the castle, which was besieged, and taken August

7, by Sir P. Musgrave. Colonel Boynton, Governor of Scarborough Castle, now declares for the King; and Pomfret Castle was surprised by Major Morris; Timmouth Castle likewise revolts, but was soon retaken by Sir Arthur Haslerig.

The Scots retreat to Kendal in Westmorland, and Lambert much increased his forces, and Cromwell having quieted Wales, marches to join with Lambert, taking Pomfret Town (but not the Castle) in his way; Hamilton leaves Kendal, and marches into Lancashire, intending for London; which the English army design to hinder, and therefore march to Preston, where Hamilton and Langdale lay with near 24000 soldiers; Cromwell and Lambert had about 5000 horse and dragoons, and 7000 foot. August the 17th both armies faced each other; Major Smithson commanded the forlorn of the English, who charged furiously on the other, routed them, and alarmed the whole army, and so the battles join on a Moor two miles east of Preston; the fight was very hot for two hours, but then the Scots gave ground, which encouraged the English to pursue, and that so fiercely as the Scots were forced to divide; one part being a body of 3000 horse moved toward Lancaster, and was pursued and dispersed by Colonel Twisselton, and Thornlow, who took multitudes of them prisoners; the other part, horse and foot, march over the river Ribel, whom the main of the English army follow, and at Ribel Bridge, the Scots make a stand, defending the pass stoutly for two hours, even to push of pike, and were then constrained to retire; the next morning the Scots draw up upon an hill, on the side of Preston, whence being forced by the English, they fled in the greatest disorder to Wiggan, which they plundered, and next morning marched toward Warrington, the English being still in pursuit of them; near Warrington the Scots taking the advantage of pass, make another stand, but were again beaten with the loss of 1000 men, and were prosecuted to the very bridge, where 4000 of the foot, being deserted of the horse, laid down their arms and submitted to mercy; Hamilton escaped with 3000 horse to Nafftwich, where the country being up in arms, seized 500 of them; Cromwell marches toward Cumberland to meet Monroe, ordering all the Parliament commanders in those counties to follow the flying Scots, by some of whom M. G. Middleton, who commanded 400 horse, was defeated, and taken prisoner, and the rest dispersed; Hamilton himself was seized at Uxeter by Lord Gray of Groby and sent prisoner to Ashby de la Zouch.

In this fight the English took more prisoners than their whole army amounted to; the ensigns and colours here taken, were afterwards hung

up in Westminster hall ; Sir Mar. Langdale was apprehended in an Inn. Cromwell improves this success, and comes to Durham to look out Monroe, supposed to be about 6000 strong ; but the Presbyterian party in Scotland having now recovered the power, command him to return, which he obeys more for fear of the English than dutifulness to them, and joining with the Earl of Lanerick, both together made up 8000 horse and foot ; to oppose whom, the Presbyterians provided an army, whereof the Earl of Argile was Commander in Chief, and David Lesly, Lieutenant-General. Cromwell enters Scotland, and publishes this declaration : “ Whereas we are marching with the forces of the Parliament of England into the kingdom of Scotland, in pursuance of the remaining part of the enemy who lately invaded the kingdom of England, for the recovery of the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle ; these are to declare, that if any officer or soldier under my command shall take or demand any money, or shall take any horses, goods, or victuals without order, or shall abuse the people, he shall be tried, and punished with death by a council of war.” Argile, Lowdon, Leven, and other of the Scots nobility, repair to Cromwell, and contract with him for subduing the public enemy ; and so much was he feared in Scotland, that this agreement was consented to : 1. That the armies under Argile, and the other under Lanerick, and Monroe, with all the forces in any of the garrisons in Scotland be disbanded, and Berwick and Carlisle be delivered to the English. 2. That the settlement of religion at home, and promoting reformation abroad, be ordered by the determination of the General Assembly ; and all civil differences be referred to a parliament speedily to be called. 3. That no party that were in the last engagements against England, be of the new Parliament, or of the General Assembly. And so Cromwell returns into England, after he had been feasted and treated at Edinburgh, and highly caressed by the States of Scotland with all expressions of honour ; and in Yorkshire he was desired by the Committee to reduce Scarborough and Pomfret Castles, which was afterwards performed.

Colchester had endured a tedious siege, and was now brought to such scarcity of provision, that they had not horse flesh enough to serve them for one day, that being the food which they had fed on for almost a fortnight, and purchased with much blood spilt in divers sallies for dead horses, and now perceiving all hopes of succour utterly frustrated, were necessitated to yield upon these conditions ; that the common soldiers depart with life, and the officers to remain at the General's disposal, he to exempt from mercy whom he pleased, the

remainder to be remitted to the Parliament's mercy, and the town to raise 14000*l.* to preserve it from plunder. The prisoners of quality were, the Lords Goring, Capel, and Loughborough, 11 Knights, 12 Colonels, 8 Lieutenant-Colonels, 9 Majors, 30 Captains, and 65 gentlemen; the common prisoners were about 3000. Three of the Knights were condemned by a council of war, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir G. Lisle, and Sir Ber. Gascoyn, a Papist; the last was reprieved, and the other two were shot to death; the first having (as Fairfax said in his letter to the Parliament) contrary to his promise not kept his word with him; the second accused to have directed the shooting of poisoned bullets contrary to the law of arms: and so Fairfax, after much loss of time and men, and difficult service for a quarter of a year, against the valiant defence of the besieged, took possession of Colchester, August 27, 1648. After which he marches up and down the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Hertford, to settle peace, and visit the garrisons, and so returns to St. Alban's, his head quarter. And thus ended the military actions of this year.

Whilst the army was busied in fighting, the Parliament received petitions from several counties for a treaty with the King, and among others one from London, withal desiring the release of their Aldermen Gayer, Langham, Buneh, and Serjeant Glyn, which the House agreed to; and likewise repealed their orders against the Earls of Lindsey, Suffolk, and Middlesex, and the Lords Berkley, Hunsden, Maynard, Willoughby of Parham, and the eleven impeached members. And now they apply themselves to the business so much desired. The Earl of Middlesex, Sir J. Hipsley, and Mr. Bunkley were sent to the King, to let him know the Parliament's intentions, who returned with his desires; upon which the Parliament voted; that the votes of non addresses should be recalled; that such persons as the King should send for, as necessary to him in the treaty be admitted; that he be in the same state of freedom as at Hampton Court, with such servants as he desires; that five lords, and ten commons be chosen commissioners to treat with the King, and the place to be Newport, in the Isle of Wight; and that the King be admitted to invite the Scots thereunto, but to treat only concerning that kingdom. These votes were sent down to the King, who was to treat personally with the following commissioners: the Earls of Salisbury, Pembroke, Middlesex, Northumberland, and the Lord Say, for the House of Lords; the Lord Wainman, Mr. Pierpoint, Sir H. Vane the younger, Sir Harry Grimston, Sir J. Potts, Mr. Brown, Mr. Crew, and Mr. Bulkley,

(with Mr. Hollis, and Mr. Glyn, lately re-admitted into the House) for the Commons.

Monday, September 8, 1648, the treaty began, the propositions were in number eleven. 1. For calling in all declarations, which the King assented to, with this proviso, that neither this concession, nor any other of his, should be taken advantage of, unless the whole were concluded. 2. In reference to the settlement of the church, to which the King condescended; to settle the directory, to pass an act to confirm the assembly, and to establish Presbytery government, for three years, reserving liberty to himself and his party to use the old form, but would not agree to the utter abolishing of episcopal hierarchy, nor the selling their lands. 3. For settling the militia in the hands of the Parliament, for twenty years solely; to which the King assented; and likewise to the fourth proposition, for making void the cessation in Ireland, and permitting the government of it, both civil and military, to the two Houses at Westminster; and to the fifth and sixth, for nulling all honours and titles since the carrying away of the great seal, and for payment of public debts. The seventh proposition, concerning delinquents, to whom the Parliament intended great severity; the King was contented, that they should be fined, and prohibited access to council or court, without the Parliament's consent; that they be deprived for three years of their right of sitting in Parliament, and brought to trial, and if the two Houses think fit, or suffer according to the merit whereof they should be legally convicted; but he would by no means hear of branding them with treason, nor taking away their lives or possessions, nor any others, but such as after a legal trial shall be found breaking the established laws of the land. 8thly, the Parliament to be empowered to confer all offices of the King and chief magistrates, for twenty years. The ninth for confirming the new great seal, with all grants and commissions settled by it. The tenth for confirming all privileges, grants, charters, and immunities; with power to the city of London to dispose of their militia, and the Tower; and all citizens to be exempted from military service, out of the liberties, except at the Parliament's appointment.

All these propositions were fully consented to; and likewise the last, for total exterminating the Court of Wards, provided that 10000*l.* might be yearly paid to the King, by way of compensation. The Marquis of Ormond had got back into Ireland, and raised forces there in opposition to the Parliament, by the King's commission; but the King assured the commissioners, that if the treaty should take effect,

the Irish affairs should be managed at the discretion of the two Houses only. The King having thus far complied with the Parliament, they likewise at his desire vote ; that he be in honour, freedom, and safety, according to the laws ; that he have his revenue as before, excepting the dedications of such forts and garrisons, as were of old accustomed, to be allowed maintenance ; that he have compensation for the Court of Wards ; that an act of oblivion and pardon be passed. Most men thought now that the King and Parliament would have united, and so in all likelihood they had ; nothing being in difference but only the business of episcopacy ; but all this is broken off by the army's interposal, who could not think themselves secure as long as the King lived ; and therefore to find other work for the Parliament, they first send up for their arrears, amounting to a vast sum of money, whilst the two Houses were debating, they prepare a petition, That scrutiny be taken for the discovery of the contrivers and actors in the late bloody wars, and that speedy justice may be done upon them ; that the same fault may have the same punishment in the person of King or Lord, as in the person of the poorest commoner ; that such as speak or act on the King's behalf, till he be acquitted of shedding innocent blood, be proceeded against as traitors, &c.

When this would not do, the army draw nearer, and taking up their head quarters at Windsor, conclude on a remonstrance, which they send up to the Parliament, requiring, 1. That the King be brought to justice, as the capital cause of all the evils of the civil war. 2. That a peremptory day be set, for summoning the Prince of Wales, and Duke of York, and if they refuse to appear, to declare them incapable of government or succession, and to stand exiled as traitors ; and if they render themselves, yet to be proceeded against for satisfaction ; that the revenues of the crown be sequestered. 3. That public justice be done against the actors in the last wars. And lastly they conclude, desiring their arrears, with the old pretence, of easing the country of free quarter ; and desire that a period might be put to this Parliament, and good care taken to elect a new representative. In the mean time General Fairfax commands Colonel Hammond to deliver up the King to Colonel Ewer, by whom he is conveyed out of the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle, November 30, 1648. And all this contrary to the intentions of the Parliament, who voted ; That the seizing upon the person of the King, and the carrying him prisoner to Hurst Castle, was without the advice and consent of the two Houses. And thus the treaty was violently broken off, yet the House of Lords vote ; That the King's concessions are a sufficient ground for peace, and forthwith ad-

journ; and the major part of the Commons do the same; but the army being now come up to London, resolve to hinder these proceedings, and therefore discharge the trained bands from being a guard to the Parliament, and order Colonels Pride's and Rich's regiments to supply their places, by whom above forty members of the Commons coming to the House, were seized, and sent to an inn, called Hell, from thence to the King's Head, near Charing-Cross, and so to the Swan, in the Strand; and not satisfied with this, the army accused Major-General Brown, and above ninety members, for inviting in the Scots last summer, and therefore desired they might be excluded the House; at which the Commons being angry, adjourn December 8, for four or five days; in which space the army is busied in devising a new way of government: and their committee at Whitehall move, That this present Parliament be dissolved the last of April next, and that the representatives of the whole nation shall consist of 300 persons, half of which number shall suffice to make any act a law; and that in the intervals of Parliament, a Council of State shall govern. And this declaration, with about ten other modifications, they stile, The agreement of the people; which was afterwards presented to the House of Commons by Sir H. Waller, and sixteen officers. The House new modelled, by excluding such a number of members, meet again, annulled the votes of non-addresses, and those others which approved of the King's concessions, and vote, That no message be received from the King, upon pain of treason; that Fairfax take care of the King, and that the Council of War draw up a charge against him: so that now they are resolved upon his trial, and accordingly orders are issued for his removal.

December 13, 1648, the King was brought from Hurst Castle, with a strong guard of horse, to Winchester, afterward to Windsor. In the mean time the two Houses differ; the Commons assert, That it is treason for the King to levy war against the Commonwealth; and the Lords deny, That the King can commit treason against the Commonwealth, and therefore reject the ordinance of the Commons for his trial, and declare, That no act of the Commons is binding without their consent. Upon which the Commons vote, That all members and others appointed to act in any ordinance, are empowered and enjoined to sit, act and execute, notwithstanding the House of Peers joined not with them. And so earnest were both the Commons and the army about it, that the Queen desiring to see her husband before his trial, could not obtain a pass for her secure coming and going. January 4; the Commons being turned into a grand committee, pass the following

votes: 1. That the people under God, are the original of all just power. 2. That the Commons of England assembled in parliament, being chosen by, and representing the people, have the supreme authority of this nation. 3. That whatsoever is enacted and declared for law by the Commons of England assembled in parliament, hath the force of a law. 4. That all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the House of Peers be not had thereto. 5. That to raise arms against the people, representatives, or parliament, and to make war upon them, is high treason. 6. That the King himself took arms against the Parliament, and upon that account is guilty of the bloodshed throughout the civil war, and that he ought to expiate the crime with his own blood. After this they proceeded to make a pretended act for the trial of the King, and notwithstanding the dissenting of the House of Lords, and the remonstrances of the Scots Parliament, against it, the Commons erect a new illegal tribunal, which they call the High Court of Justice, who are empowered to convene, hear, judge, and execute Charles Stuart, King of England. And January 6, the ordinance for the King's trial was engrossed, which they intituled, An Act of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, for erecting an High Court of Justice for the Trial and Judging of Charles Stuart, King of England, which was in the form following:

‘Whereas it is notorious, that Charles Stuart, the now King of England, not content with those many encroachments which his predecessors had made upon the people in their rights and freedoms, hath had a wicked design totally to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws and liberty of this nation: and in their place, to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government, with fire and sword levied and maintained a cruel war in the land, against the Parliament and kingdom; whereby the country hath been miserably wasted, the public treasure exhausted, trade decayed, and thousands of people murdered, and infinite of other mischiefs committed: for all which high and treasonable offences, the said Charles Stuart might long since justly have been brought to exemplary and condign punishment. Whereas also the Parliament, well hoping that the restraint and imprisonment of his person (after it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands), would have quieted the disturbers of the kingdom, did forbear to proceed judicially against him. But found by sad experience, that such their remissives served only to encourage him and his complices, in the continuance of their evil practices, and in raising of new commotions, dangers, and invasions: for prevention therefore of the like greater incon-

veniences, and to the end that no magistrate or officer whatsoever, may hereafter presume traiterously and maliciously to imagine or contrive the enslaving or destroying of the English nation, and to expect impunity in so doing :

Be it ordained and enacted by the Commons in Parliament assembled, and it is hereby ordained and enacted by the authority thereof : that Thomas L. F. O. C. &c. _____ shall be, and are hereby appointed Commissioners and Judges, for the hearing, trying, and judging of the said Charles Stuart ; and the said commissioners, or any twenty or more of them, shall be, and are hereby authorised and constituted an High Court of Justice, to meet at such convenient times and places, as by the said commissioners, or the major part, or twenty or more of them, under their hands and seals, shall be appointed and notified by public proclamation in the great hall or Palace-yard of Westminster ; and adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as the said High Court, or the major part thereof meeting should hold fit, and to take order for charging of him the said Charles Stuart with the crimes above-mentioned, and for the receiving his personal answer thereunto, and for examination of witnesses upon oath (if need be) concerning the same ; and thereupon, or in default of such answer, to proceed to final sentence according to justice, and the merit of the cause, and to be executed speedily and impartially, &c. :

Presently after this was published, proclamation was made, That those who had any thing to say against the King, should have a hearing given them. This was proclaimed first in Westminster-Hall, by the Serjeant at Arms to the Commissioners, riding into the Hall with his mace, attended with six trumpeters and other officers, who likewise rode bare into the Hall with him, the drums of the guard beating in the mean time without in the Palace-yard. And the day after, proclamation was made to the same effect in Cheapside, and at the Old Exchange. And in order to this grand trial, Hillary Term, which usually begins January 23, was adjourned for fourteen days. The House of Lords refusing to concur with the Commons in their ordinance for the King's trial, the Commons resolve and vote, That all members and others appointed to act in any ordinance, are impowered and enjoined to sit, act, and execute, notwithstanding the House of Peers join not with them.

And now the ministers in general, and the Presbyterians likewise, who had been active against the King's cause, declare themselves both in their pulpits and by earnest petitions to the Parliament, to be zealous abhorers of the King's death, and every where publicly protest

against this trial. The nobility likewise offer themselves pledges on the King's behalf; and the people universally seem greatly troubled and astonished. Notwithstanding all which the House of Commons and the army went desperately on, and a new illegal tribunal, called An High Court of Justice, was erected; the commissioners whereof met in the Painted Chamber, to consult what course to take about the trial of the King.

Friday, January 19, 1648, the King was brought with a strong guard of horse from Windsor to St. James's, and the next day Serjeant Bradshaw, President of the pretended High Court of Justice, with about seventy of the members of the said Court, having Colonel Fox, and sixteen gentlemen with partizans, and a sword borne by Colonel Humphrey, and a mace by Serjeant Dandy, with their and other officers of the said Court marching before them, came to the place

ordered to be their sitting end of the in Westminster. The Lord President, in a velvet crimson velviced in the Court placed a desk son velvet fore him :



prepared for at the west Great Hall, ster, where sident, in a vet chair, midst of the himself, ha- with a crim- cushion be- the rest of

the members placing themselves on each side of him, upon the several seats or benches prepared and hung with scarlet for that purpose, and the partisans dividing themselves on each side of the Court before them.

The Court being thus set, and silence made, the great gate of the said Hall was set open, to the end, that all persons, without exception, desirous to see, or hear, might come into it; upon which the Hall was presently filled, and silence again ordered.

This done, Colonel Thomlinson, who had the charge of the King, as a prisoner, was commanded to bring him to the Court, who within a quarter of an hour's space brought him, attended with about twenty officers, with partizans marching before him; there being Col. Hacker and other gentlemen, to whose care and custody he was likewise committed, marching in his rear.

Being thus brought up within the face of the Court, the Serjeant at Arms, with his mace, receives and conducts him strait to the bar,

where a crimson velvet chair was set for the King. After a stern looking upon the Court and the people in the galleries on each side of him, he places himself, not at all moving his hat, or otherwise shewing the least respect to the Court, but presently rises up again, and turns about looking downwards upon the guards placed on the left side, and on the multitude of spectators on the right side of the said great hall. After silence made among the people, the Act of Parliament for the trying of Charles Stuart, King of England, was read over by the Clerk of the Court; who sat on one side of the table covered with a rich Turkey carpet, and placed at the feet of the said Lord President; upon which table was also laid the sword and mace.

After reading the said Act, the several names of the Commissioners were called over, every one who was present, rising up, and answering to his call.

The King having again placed himself in his chair, with his face towards the Court, silence being again ordered, the Lord President stood up and said :

President. Charles Stuart, King of England; the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, being deeply sensible of the calamities that have been brought upon this nation (which is fixed upon you, as the principal author of them), have resolved to make inquisition for blood, and according to that debt and duty they owe to justice, to God, the kingdom, and themselves, and according to the fundamental power that rests in themselves, they have resolved to bring you to trial and judgment; and for that purpose have constituted this High Court of Justice, before which you are now brought.

This said, Mr. Cook, Solicitor-General for the Commonwealth (standing within a bar on the right hand of the King), offered to speak; but the King having a staff in his hand, held it up, and laid it upon the said Mr. Cook's shoulder two or three times, bidding him hold. Nevertheless, the Lord President ordering him to go on, he said :

Cook. My Lord, I am commanded to charge Charles Stuart, King of England, in the name of the Commons of England, with treason and high misdemeanours; I desire the said charge may be read.

The said charge being delivered to the Clerk of the Court, the Lord President ordered it should be read; but the King bid him hold. Nevertheless, being commanded by the Lord President to read it, the Clerk begun.

The Charge of the Commons of England, against Charles Stuart, King of England, of High Treason, and other High Crimes, exhibited to the High Court of Justice.

‘ That the said Charles Stuart being admitted King of England, and therein trusted with a limited power, to govern by, and according to the laws of the land, and not otherwise : and by his trust, oath, and office, being obliged to use the power committed to him, for the good and benefit of the people, and for the preservation of their rights and liberties ; yet nevertheless, out of a wicked design, to erect, and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical power, to rule according to his will, and to overthrow the rights and liberties of the people : yea, to take away, and make void the foundations thereof, and of all redress and remedy of misgovernment, which by the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom were reserved on the people’s behalf, in the right and power of frequent and successive parliaments, or national meetings in council. He, the said Charles Stuart, for accomplishment of such his designs, and for the protecting of himself and his adherents, in his and their wicked practices to the same end, hath traiterously and maliciously levied war against the present Parliament, and the people therein represented.

‘ Particularly, upon or about the thirtieth day of June, in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred forty and two, at Beverly, in the county of York ; and upon, or about the thirtieth day of July, in the year aforesaid, in the county of the city of York ; and upon, or about the twenty-fourth day of August, in the same year, at the county of the town of Nottingham (when, and where he set up his standard of war), and upon, or about the twenty-third day of October, in the same year, at Edge-hill, and Kenton-field, in the county of Warwick ; and upon, or about the thirtieth day of November, in the same year, at Brainford, in the county of Middlesex ; and upon, or about the thirtieth day of August, in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred forty and three, at Cavesham-bridge, near Reading, in the county of Berks ; and upon, or about the thirtieth day of October, in the year last mentioned, at, or near the city of Gloucester ; and upon, or about the thirtieth day of November, in the last year mentioned, at Newberry, in the county of Berks ; and upon, or about the one and thirtieth day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred forty and four, at Cropredy-bridge, in the county of Oxon ; and upon, or about the thirtieth day of September, in the last year mentioned, at Bodmin, and other places near adjacent, in the county of Cornwall ; and upon,

or about the thirtieth day of November, in the last year mentioned, at Newberry aforesaid; and upon, or about the eighth of June, in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred forty and five, at the town of Leicester; and also upon the fourteenth day of the same month, in the same year, at Naseby-field, in the county of Northampton; at which several times and places, or most of them, and at many other places in this land, at several other times, within the years aforementioned. And in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred forty and six, he, the said Charles Stuart, hath caused and procured many thousands of free people of the nation to be slain; and by divisions, parties, and insurrections, within this land, by invasions from foreign parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil ways and means, he, the said Charles Stuart, hath not only maintained and carried on the said war, both by land and sea, during the years before mentioned; but also hath renewed, or caused to be renewed, the said war against the Parliament, and good people of this nation, in this present year, one thousand six hundred forty and eight, in the counties of Kent, Essex, Surrey, Sussex, Middlesex, and many other counties and places in England and Wales, and also by sea; and particularly, he, the said Charles Stuart, hath for that purpose, given commission to his son, the Prince and others, whereby, besides multitudes of other persons, many such, as were by the Parliament entrusted and employed for the safety of the nation, being by him, or his agents, corrupted, to the betraying of their trust, and revolting from the Parliament, have had entertainment and commission, for the continuance and the renewing of war and hostility, against the said Parliament and people, as aforesaid. By which cruel and unnatural wars by him, the said Charles Stuart, levied, continued, and renewed, as aforesaid, much innocent blood of the free people of this nation have been spilt, many families have been undone, the public treasury wasted and exhausted, trade obstructed, and miserably decayed; vast expence, and damage to the nation incurred, and many parts of the land spoiled, some of them even to desolation.

‘ And for farther prosecution of his said evil designs, he, the said Charles Stuart, doth still continue his commissions to the said Prince, and other rebels and revoltors, both English and foreigners, and to the Earl of Ormond, and to the Irish rebels and revoltors associated with him: from whom further invasions upon this land are threatened, upon the procurement and on the behalf of the said Charles Stuart.

‘ All which wicked designs, wars, and evil practices of him, the said Charles Stuart, have been, and are carried on, for the advancing and

upholding of the personal interest of will and power, and pretended prerogative to himself and family, against the public interest, common right, liberty, justice, and peace of the people of this nation, by, and for whom he was entrusted, as aforesaid.

‘ By all which it appeareth, that he, the said Charles Stuart, hath been, and is the occasioner, author, and contriver of the said unnatural, cruel, and bloody wars, and therein guilty of all the treasons, murder, rapines, burnings, spoils, desolations, damage and mischief to this nation, acted or committed in the said wars, or occasioned thereby.

‘ And the said John Cook, by protestation (saving on the behalf of the people of England, the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other charge against the said Charles Stuart, and also of replying to the answers which the said Charles Stuart shall make to the premises, or any of them, or any other charge that shall be so exhibited) doth for the said treasons and crimes, on the behalf of the said people of England, impeach the said Charles Stuart as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the Commonwealth of England : and pray, that the said Charles Stuart, King of England, may be put to answer all, and every the premises ; that such proceedings, examinations, trials, sentence, and judgment may be thereupon had, as shall be agreeable to justice.’

[It is observed, that the time the charge was reading, the King sat down in his chair, looking sometimes on the Court, sometimes up to the galleries ; and having risen again, and turned about to behold the guards and spectators, sat down, looking very sternly, with a countenance not at all moved, till these words, viz. Charles Stuart (to be a tyrant and traitor, &c.) were read, at which he laughed, as he sat in the face of the Court.]

Charge being read, the Lord President replied :

President. Sir, you have now heard your charge read, containing such matters as appear in it ; you find, that in the close of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the behalf of the Commons of England, that you answer to your charge. The Court expects your answer.

King. ‘ I would know by what power I am called hither ? I was not long ago, in the Isle of Wight, how I came there, is a longer story than I think is fit at this time for me to speak of ; but there I entered into a treaty with both Houses of Parliament, with as much public faith as ’tis possible to be had of any people in the world. I treated there with a number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and treated honestly and uprightly ; I cannot say but they did very nobly with me, we were upon a conclusion of the treaty. Now I would know by what

authority, I mean, lawful ; there are many unlawful authorities in the world, thieves and robbers by the high ways ; but I would know by what authority I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, (and I know not what) ; and when I know by what lawful authority, I shall answer. Remember I am your King, and what sins you bring upon your heads, add the judgment of God upon this land : think well upon it, I say, think well upon it, before you go further from one sin to a greater ; therefore let me know by what lawful authority I am seated here, and I shall not be unwilling to answer ; in the mean time I shall not betray my trust. I have a trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful descent ; I will not betray it to answer to a new unlawful authority, therefore resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me.'

President. If you had been pleased to have observed what was hinted to you, by the Court, at your first coming hither, you would have known by what authority ; which authority, requires you in the name of the people of England, of which you are elected King, to answer them.

King. ' No, Sir, I deny that.'

President. If you acknowledge not the authority of the Court, they must proceed.

King. ' I do tell them so, England was never an elective kingdom, but an hereditary kingdom for near these thousand years, therefore let me know by what authority I am called hither. I do stand here more for the liberty of my people, than any here that come to be my pretended judges ; and therefore let me know by what lawful authority I am seated here, and I will answer it, otherwise I will not answer it.'

President. Sir, how really you have managed your trust, is known : your way of answer is to interrogate the Court, which becoms not you in this condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. ' Here is a gentleman (Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbet), ask him, if he did not bring me from the Isle of Wight by force ? I do not come here as submitting to the Court. I will stand as much for the privilege of the House of Commons, rightly understood, as any man here whatsoever. I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a Parliament, and (the King too) should have been. Is this the bringing of the King to his Parliament ? Is this the bringing an end to the treaty in the public faith of the world ? Let me see a legal authority, warranted by the word of God, the scriptures, or warranted by the constitutions of the kingdom, and I will answer.

President. Sir, you have propounded a question, and have been answered: seeing you will not answer, the Court will consider how to proceed; in the mean time, those that brought you hither, are to take charge of you back again.

The Court desires to know whether this be all the answer you will give or no?

King. 'Sir, I desire that you will give me, and all the world, satisfaction in this; let me tell you, it is not a slight thing you are about. I am sworn to keep the peace by that duty I owe to God and my country, and I will do it to the last breath of my body, and therefore you shall do well to satisfy first God, and then the country, by what authority you do it; if you do it by an usurped authority, that will not last long. There is a God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you power, to account. Satisfy me in that, and I will answer, otherwise I betray my trust, and the liberties of the people; and therefore think of that, and then I shall be willing. For I do avow, that it is as great a sin to withstand lawful authority, as it is to submit to a tyrannical, or any other ways unlawful authority; and therefore satisfy God, and me, and all the world in that, and you shall receive my answer. I am not afraid of the bill.'

President. The Court expects you should give them a final answer; their purpose is to adjourn till Monday next, if you do not satisfy yourself, though we do tell you our authority; we are satisfied with our authority, and it is upon God's authority and the kingdom's; and that peace you speak of will be kept in the doing of justice, and that's our present work.

King. 'Let me tell you, if you will shew me what lawful authority you have, I shall be satisfied: but that you have hitherto said, satisfies no reasonable man.'

President. That's in your apprehension; we think it reasonable that are your Judges.

King. 'Tis not my apprehension, nor your's neither, that ought to decide it.'

President. The Court hath heard you, and you are to be disposed of as they have commanded.

Two things were remarkable in this day's proceedings.

1. It is observed, that as the charge was reading against the King, the silver head of his staff fell off, the which he wondered at, and seeing none to take it up, he stooped for it himself, and put it in his pocket.

2. That as the King was going away, he looking with a very austere countenance upon the Court, without stirring of his hat, replied, Well Sir, (when the Lord President commanded the guard to take him away); and at his going down, he said, I do not fear that, (pointing with his staff at the sword). The people in the Hall, as he went down the stairs, cried out, some, God save the King, and some for Justice.

O yes, being called, the Court adjourned till Monday next, January 22, at nine in the morning, to the painted Chamber, and from thence to the same place again in Westminster-Hall.

January 21, being Sunday, the Commissioners kept a fast at Whitehall; there preached Mr. Sprigge, his text was, He that sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: next Mr. Foxley, his text, Judge not, lest you be judged: last, was Mr. Peters, his text was, I will bind their Kings in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron.

At the High Court of Justice, sitting in Westminster-Hall, Monday, January 22, 1648.

O yes made: silence commanded: the Court called, and answered to their names.

Silence commanded upon pain of imprisonment, and the Captain of the guard to apprehend all such as make disturbance.

Upon the King's coming in, a shout was made.

Command given by the Court to the Captain of the guard, to fetch and take into his custody those who make any disturbance.

Mr. Solicitor. May it please your Lordship, my Lord President, I did at the Court in the behalf of the Commons of England, exhibit and give into this Court a charge of high treason, and other high crimes, against the prisoner at the bar, whereof I do accuse him in the name of the people of England, and the charge was read unto him, and his answer required. My Lord, he was not then pleased to give an answer, but instead of answering, did there dispute the authority of this High Court. My humble motion to this High Court in behalf of the people of England, is, that the prisoner may be directed to make a positive answer, either by way of confession or negation; which if he shall refuse to do, that the matter of charge may be taken *pro confesso*, and the Court may proceed according to justice.

President. Sir, you may remember at the last Court, you were told the occasion of your being brought hither, and you heard a charge against you containing a charge of high treason, and other high crimes,

against this realm of England; you heard likewise that it was prayed in the behalf of the people, that you should give an answer to that charge, that thereupon such proceedings might be had, as should be agreeable to justice; you were then pleased to make some scruples concerning the authority of this Court, and knew not by what authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound your questions, and were as often answered, that it was by authority of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, that did think fit to call you to account for those high and capital misdemeanours wherewith you were then charged. Since that, the Court hath taken into consideration what you then said: they are fully satisfied with their own authority, and they hold it fit you should stand satisfied with it too; and they do require it, that you do give a positive and particular answer to this charge that is exhibited against you; they do expect you should either confess or deny it; if you deny, it is offered in the behalf of the nation to be made good against you; their authority they do avow to the whole world, that the whole kingdom are to rest satisfied in, and you are to rest satisfied with it, and therefore you are to lose no more time, but to give a positive answer thereunto.

King. 'When I was here last, 'tis true I made that question, and truly if it were only my own particular case, I would have satisfied myself with the protestation I made the last time I was here, against the legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be tried by any superior jurisdiction on earth; but it is not my case alone, it is the freedom and the liberty of the people of England; and do you pretend what you will, I stand more for their liberties. For if power without law, may make laws, may alter the fundamental laws of the kingdom, I do not know what subject he is in England, that can be sure of his life, or any thing that he calls his own; therefore when that I came here, I did expect particular reasons to know by what law, what authority, you did proceed against me here, and therefore I am a little to seek what to say to you in this particular, because the affirmative is proved, the negative is often very hard to do; but since I cannot persuade you to do it, I shall tell you my reasons as short as I can.

'My reasons why in conscience, and the duty I owe to God first, and my people next, for the preservation of their lives, liberties, and estates; I conceive I cannot answer this, till I be satisfied of the legality of it.

'All proceedings against any man whatsoever —————

[Here the King would have delivered his reasons.]

President. Sir, I must interrupt you, which I would not do, but that what you do, is not agreeable to the proceedings of any court of justice; you are about to enter into argument, and dispute concerning the authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a prisoner, and are charged as an high delinquent; if you take upon you to dispute the authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any court give way unto it, you are to submit unto it, you are to give in a punctual and direct answer, whether you will answer to your charge or no, and what your answer is.

King. 'Sir, by your favour, I do not know the forms of law, I do know law and reason, though I am no lawyer professed, yet I know as much law as any gentleman in England; and therefore (under favour) I do plead for the liberties of the people of England more than you do, and therefore if I should impose a belief upon any man without reasons given for it, it were unreasonable; but I must tell you, that by that reason that I have as thus informed, I cannot yield unto it.'

President. Sir, I must interrupt you, you may not be permitted; you spake of law and reason; it is fit there should be law and reason; and there is both against you. Sir, the vote of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, it is the reason of the kingdom, and they are these too that have given that law, according to which you should have ruled and reigned. Sir, you are not to dispute our authority, you are told it again by the Court. Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you stand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King. 'I do not know how a King can be a delinquent; not by any law that ever I heard of, all men (delinquents or what you will) let me tell you, they may put in demurrers against any proceedings as legal; and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my reasons: if you deny that, you deny reason.'

President. Sir, you have offered something to the Court, I shall speak something unto you the sense of the Court: Sir, neither you nor any man are permitted to dispute that point; you are concluded, you may not demur the jurisdiction of the Court; if you do, I must let you know, that they over-rule your demurrer, they sit here by the authority of the Commons of England, and all your predecessors, and you are responsible to them.

King. 'I deny that; shew me one precedent——'

President. Sir, you ought not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you; this point is not to be debated by you, neither will the

Court permit you to do it; if you offer it by way of demurrer to the jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their jurisdiction, they do affirm their own jurisdiction.

King. 'I say Sir, by your favour, that the Commons of England was never a court of judicature; I would know how they came to be so?'

President. Sir, you are not permitted to go on in that speech, and these discourses.

Then the Clerk of the Court read as followeth:

'Charles Stuart, King of England, you have been accused on the behalf of the people of England of high treason, and other high crimes; the Court have determined, that you ought to answer the same.'

King. 'I will answer the same as soon as I know by what authority you do this.'

President. If this be all that you will say, then Gentlemen, you that brought the prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King. 'I do require that you will give in my reasons why I do not answer and give me time for that.'

President. Sir, 'tis not for prisoners to require.

King. 'Prisoners! Sir, I am not an ordinary prisoner.'

President. The Court hath considered of their jurisdiction, and they have already affirmed their jurisdiction; if you will not answer, we shall give order to record your default.

King. 'You never heard my reasons yet.'

President. Sir, your reasons are not to be heard against the highest jurisdiction.

King. 'Shew me that jurisdiction, where reason is not to be heard.'

President. Sir, we shew it to you here, the Commons of England; and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleasure of the Court, and it may be, their final determination.

King. 'Shew me wherever the House of Commons was a court of judicature of that kind.'

President. Serjeant, take away the prisoner.

King. 'Well Sir, remember that the King is not suffered to give his reasons for the liberty and freedom of all his subjects.'

President. Sir, you are not to have liberty to use this language; how great a friend you have been to the laws and liberties of the people, let all England and the world judge.

King. 'Sir, under favour, it was the liberty, freedom, and laws of the subject, that ever I took ——— defended myself with arms; I

never took up arms against the people, but for the people and the laws.'

President. The command of the Court must be obeyed ; no answer will be given to the charge.

King. ' Well, Sir.'

Then the Lord President ordered the default to be recorded, and the contempt of the Court, and that no answer would be given to the charge.

And so was guarded forth to Sir Robert Cotton's house.

Then the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber on Tuesday, at twelve o'clock, and from thence they intended to adjourn to Westminster Hall, at which time all persons concerned were to give their attendance.

*Resolutions of the Court at their Meeting in the Painted Chamber;
Lunæ, January 22, 1648.*

This day the King being withdrawn from the bar of the High Court of Justice, the Commissioners of the said High Court of Justice sat private in the Painted Chamber, and considered of the King's carriage upon the Saturday before, and of all that had passed, and fully approved of what the Lord President had done and said in the managing of the business of that day, as agreeing to their sense. And perceiving what the King aimed at, viz. to bring in question (if he could) the jurisdiction of the Court, and the authority thereof, whereby they sat; and considering that in the interim he had not acknowledged them in any sort to be a Court or his Judges; and through their sides intended to wound (if he might be permitted) the supreme authority of the Commons of England, in their representatives the Commons assembled in Parliament, after advice with their Council, learned in both laws, and mature deliberation had of the matter:

Resolved, That the King should not be suffered to argue the Court's jurisdiction, of that which constituted them a Court, of which debate they had not proper consance, nor could they, being a derivative Judge of that Supreme Court which made them Judges, from which there was no appeal, and did therefore order and direct, viz.

Ordered, That in case the King shall again offer to dispute the authority of the Court, the Lord President do let him know, that the Court have taken into consideration his demands of the last day, and that he ought to rest satisfied with this answer: That the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, have constituted this Court, whose power may not, nor should be permitted to be disputed by him.

That in case the King shall refuse to answer or acknowledge the Court, the Lord President do let him know that the Court will take it as a contumacy, and that it shall be so recorded.

That in case he shall offer or answer with a saving, notwithstanding of his pretended prerogatives above the jurisdiction of the Court, that the Lord President do in the name of the Court refuse his protest, and require his positive answer, whether he will own the Court or not.

That in case the King shall demand a copy of the charge, that he shall then declare his intention to answer, and that declaring his intention, a copy be granted unto him.

That in case the King shall still persist in his contempt, the Lord President do give command to the Clerk, to demand of the King, in the name of the Court, in these words following, viz.

Charles Stuart, King of England, you are accused in the behalf of the people of England, of divers high crimes and treasons, which charge hath been read unto you. The Court requires you to give a positive answer, to confess or deny the charge, having determined that you ought to answer the same.

At the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster-Hall, January 23, 1648.

O yes made. Silence commanded. The Court called. Seventy-three persons present.

The King comes in with his guard, looks with an austere countenance upon the Court, and sits down.

The second O yes made, and silence commanded.

Mr. Cook, Solicitor-General. May it please your Lordship, my Lord President,

This is now the third time that by the great grace and favour of this High Court, the prisoner hath been brought to the bar, before any issue joined in the cause. My Lord, I did at the first Court exhibit a charge against him, containing the highest treason that ever was wrought upon the theatre of England: that a King of England, trusted to keep the law, that had taken an oath so to do, that had tribute paid him for that end, should be guilty of a wicked design to subvert and destroy our laws, and introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government, in the defiance of the Parliament and their authority, set up his standard for war against his Parliament and people; and I did humbly pray, in the behalf of the people of England; that he might speedily be required to make an answer to the charge.

But, my Lord, instead of making any answer, he did then dispute the authority of this High Court; your Lordship was pleased to give him a further day to consider, and to put in his answer, which day being yesterday, I did humbly move that he might be required to give a direct and positive answer, either by denying, or confession of it; but (my Lord) he was then pleased for to demur to the jurisdiction of the Court, which the Court did then over-rule, and command him to give a direct and positive answer. My Lord, besides this great delay of justice, I shall now humbly move your Lordship for speedy judgment against him. My Lord, I might press your Lordship upon the whole, that according to the known rules of the law of the land, that if a prisoner shall stand as contumacious in contempt, and shall not put in an issuable plea, Guilty or not Guilty of the charge given against him, whereby he may come to a fair trial; that as by an implicate confession, it may be taken *pro confesso*, as it hath been done to those who have deserved more favour than the prisoner at the bar has done: but besides, my Lord, I shall humbly press your Lordship upon the whole fact; the House of Commons, the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the kingdom, they have declared, that it is notorious, that the matter of the charge is true, as it is in truth (my Lord) as clear as chystal, and as the sun that shines at noon day; which if your Lordship and the Court be not satisfied in, I have notwithstanding, on the people of England's behalf, several witnesses to produce: and therefore I do humbly pray, and yet I must confess it is not so much I, as the innocent blood that hath been shed, the cry whereof is very great for justice end judgment, and therefore I do humbly pray, that speedy judgment be pronounced against the prisoner at the bar.

President. Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Council, on the behalf of the kingdom against you. Sir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget, what dilatory dealings the Court hath found in your hand: you were pleased to propound some questions, you have had your resolutions upon them. You were told over and over again, that the Court did affirm their own jurisdiction: that it was not for you, nor any other man, to dispute the jurisdiction of the supreme and highest authority of England, from which there is no appeal, and touching which there must be no dispute; yet you did persist in such carriage, as you gave no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any authority in them, nor the High Court that constituted this Court of Justice.

Sir, I must let you know from the Court, that they are very sensible of these delays of your's, and that they ought not, being thus autho-

tised by the supreme Court of England to be thus trifled withal, and that they might in justice, if they pleased, and according to the rules of justice, take advantage of these delays, and proceed to pronounce judgment against you: yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalfs I do require you, that you make a positive answer unto this charge that is against you, Sir, in plain terms; for justice knows no respect of persons; you are to give your positive and final answer in plain English, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these treasons laid to your charge.

The King after a little pause, said,

‘When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the liberties of the people of England; I was interrupted: I desire to know yet whether I may speak freely or not?’

President. Sir, you have had the resolution of the Court upon the like question the last day, and you were told that having such a charge of so high a nature against you, your work was, that you ought to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court, and to answer to your charges. Sir, if you answer to your charge, which the Court gives you leave now to do, though they might have taken the advantage of your contempt, yet if you be able to answer to your charge, when you have once answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best defence you can. But, Sir, I must let you know from the Court, as their commands, that you are not to be permitted to issue out into any other discourses, till such time as you have given a positive answer concerning the matter that is charged upon you.

King. ‘For the charge I value it not a rush, it is the liberty of the people of England that I stand for; for me to acknowledge a new Court, that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that should be an example to all the people of England, to uphold justice, to maintain the old laws; indeed I do not know how to do it; you spoke very well the first day that I came here (on Saturday), of the obligation that I had laid upon me by God, to the maintenance of the liberties of my people: the same obligation you speak of, I do acknowledge to God that I owe to him, and to my people, to defend as much as in me lies, the ancient laws of the kingdom; therefore, until that I may know that this is not against the fundamental laws of the kingdom, by your favour, I can put in no particular answer: if you will give me time, I will then shew you my reasons why I cannot do it, and this ———’

Here being interrupted, he said,

‘By your favour you ought not to interrupt me; how I came here, I know not, there is no law for it, to make your King your prisoner.’

I was lately in a Treaty upon the public faith of the Kingdom, that was the known ——— the two Houses of Parliament, that was the representative of the kingdom, and when that I had almost made an end of the treaty, then I was hurried away and brought hither; and therefore ———

Here the President interrupted him, and said, Sir, you must know the pleasure of the Court.

King. 'By your favour, Sir, ———'

President. Nay, Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into these discourses; you appear as a delinquent, you have not acknowledged the authority of the Court; the Court craves it not of you, and once more they command you to give your positive answer

——— Clerk, do your duty.

King. 'Duty, Sir!'

The Clerk reads,

Charles Stuart, King of England, you are accused in the behalf of the Commons of England, of divers high crimes and treasons, which charge hath been read unto you; the Court now requires you to give your positive and final answer, by way of confession, or denial of the charge.

King. 'Sir, I say again to you, so that I might give satisfaction to the people of England, of the clearness of my proceedings, not by way of answer, not in this way, but to satisfy them that I have done nothing against that trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to acknowledge a new Court against their privileges, to alter the fundamental laws of the kingdom, Sir, you must excuse me.'

President. Sir, this is the third time that you have publicly disowned the Court, and put an affront upon it; how far you have preserved the privileges of the people, your actions have spoke it; but truly, Sir, men's intentions ought to be known by their actions, you have written your meaning in bloody characters throughout the whole kingdom; but, Sir, you understand the pleasure of the Court; ———

——— Clerk, record the default, ——— and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the prisoner, take him back again.

King. 'I will only say this one word to you, if it were only my own particular, I would not say any more, or interrupt you.'

President. Sir, you have heard the pleasure of the Court, and you are (notwithstanding you will not understand it) to find that you are before a Court of Justice.

Then the King went forth with his guard, and proclamation was made, that all persons who had then appeared, and had further to do at the Court, might depart into the Painted Chamber, to which place the Court did forthwith adjourn, and intended to meet in Westminster Hall by ten of the clock the next morning.

Cryer. God bless the kingdom of England.

His Majesty intended to have delivered in writing his reasons against the pretended jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, upon Monday, January 22, but was not permitted.

Saturday the 27th of January, 1648.

O yes made. Silence commanded. The Court called. Serjeant Bradshaw, Lord President, in his scarlet robe (suitable to the work of this day) with sixty-eight other members of the Court, called. As the King came into the Court, in his usual posture with his hat on, a cry made in the Hall by some of the soldiers for Justice, Justice, and Execution.

King. 'I shall desire a word to be heard a little, and I hope I shall give no occasion of interruption.'

President. You may answer in your time; hear the Court first.

King. 'If it please you, Sir, I desire to be heard, and I shall not give any occasion of interruption, and it is only in a word; a sudden judgment —'

President. You shall be heard in due time, but you are to hear the Court first.

King. 'Sir, I desire it, it will be in order to what I believe the Court will say; and therefore, Sir, a hasty judgment is not so soon recalled.'

President. Sir, you shall be heard before the judgment be given, and in the mean time you may forbear.

King. 'Well, Sir, shall I be heard before the judgment be given?'

President. Gentlemen, it is well known to all, or most of you here present, that the prisoner at the bar hath been several times convented and brought before the Court to make answer to a charge of treason and other crimes exhibited against him in the name of the people of England.—[Here an honourable Lady interrupted the Court, saying, Not half the people; but she was soon silenced.]—To which charge being required to answer, he hath been so far from obeying the commands of the Court by submitting to their justice, as he began to take upon him to offer reasoning and debate unto the authority of the Court, and of the highest Court that constituted them to try and judge him;

but being over-ruled in that, and required to make his answer, he was still pleased to continue contumacious, and to refuse to submit or answer; hereupon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themselves, to the trust reposed in them, nor that any man's wilfulness prevent justice, they have thought fit to take the matter into their consideration; they have considered of the contumacy, and of that confession which in law doth arise upon that contumacy: they have likewise considered of the notoriety of the fact charged upon the prisoner, and upon the whole matter they are resolved, and have agreed upon a sentence to be now pronounced against this prisoner. But in respect he doth desire to be heard before the sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath resolved that they will hear him; yet, Sir, thus much I must tell you before hand, which you have been minded of at other Courts; that if that you have to say be to offer any debate concerning jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it; you have offered it formerly, and you have indeed struck at the root, that is, the power and supreme authority of the Commons of England, which this Court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon authority derived from them, that they should presume to judge upon their superiority, from whom there is no appeal. But, Sir, if you have any thing to say in defence of yourself concerning the matters charged, the Court hath given me command to let you know they will hear you.

King. 'Since that I see that you will not hear any thing of debate concerning that which I confess I thought most material for the peace of the kingdom, and for the liberty of the subject, I shall wave it, I shall speak nothing to it; but only I must tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that; that I call more dear to me than my life, which is my conscience and my honour; and if I had respect to my life more than the peace of the kingdom, the liberty of the subject, certainly I should have made a particular defence for myself, for by that at least-wise I might have delayed an ugly sentence, which I believe will pass upon me; therefore certainly, Sir, as a man that hath some understanding, some knowledge of the world, if that my true zeal to my country had not overborn the care that I have of my own preservation, I should have gone another way to work than that I have done. Now, Sir, I conceive that an hasty sentence once passed, may be sooner repented than recalled: and truly the self same desire that I have for the peace of the kingdom, and the liberty of the subject, more than my own particular, does make me now at last desire, that having something for to say that concerns both, I

desire before sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber before the Lords and Commons; this delay cannot be prejudicial to you; whatsoever I say, if that I say no reason, those that hear must be judges; I cannot be judge of that I have; if it be reason, and really for the welfare of the kingdom, and the liberty of the subject, I am sure on it very well, it is worth the hearing: therefore I do conjure you, as you love that you pretend, I hope it is real, the liberty of the subject, the peace of the kingdom; that you will grant me the hearing, before any sentence be passed; I only desire this, that you will take this into your consideration, it may be you have not heard of it before-hand; if you will, I will retire and you may think of it: but if I cannot get this liberty, I do here protest, that so fair shews of liberty and peace are pure shews, and not otherwise, in that you will not hear your King.

President. Sir, you have now spoken?

King. 'Yes, Sir.'

President. And this that you have said is a further declining of the jurisdiction of this Court, which was the thing wherein you were limited before.

King. 'Pray excuse me, Sir, for my interruption; because you mistake me, it is not a declining of it, you do judge me before you hear me speak: I say it will not, I do not decline it, though I cannot acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court; yet, Sir, in this give me leave to say, I would do it, though I did not acknowledge it in this, I do protest it is not the declining of it, since I say, if that I do say any thing but that that is for the peace of the kingdom and the liberties of the subject, then the shame is mine. Now I desire, that you will take this into your consideration, if you will, I will withdraw.'

President. Sir, this is not altogether new that you have moved unto us, not altogether new to us, though the first time in person you have offered it to the Court: Sir, you say you decline not the jurisdiction of the Court.

King. 'Not in this that I have said.'

President. I understand you well, Sir, but nevertheless that which you have offered, seems to be contrary to that saying of your's; for the Court are ready to give a sentence. It is not as you say, that they will not hear their King, for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your pleasure for three Courts together, to hear what you would say to the people's charge against you, to which you have not vouchsafed to give any answer at all; Sir, this tends to a further

delay. Truly, Sir, such delays as these neither may the kingdom nor justice well bear; you have had three several days to have offered in this kind what you would have pleased. This Court is founded upon the authority of the Commons of England, in whom rests the supreme jurisdiction; that which you now tender, is to have another jurisdiction, and a co-ordinate jurisdiction. I know very well you express yourself, Sir, that notwithstanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, yet nevertheless you would proceed on here, I did hear you say so; but, Sir, that you would offer there, whatever it is, must needs be in delay of the justice here; so as if this Court be resolved, and prepared for the sentence, this that you offer they are not bound in justice to grant; but, Sir, according to that you seem to desire, and because you shall know the further pleasure of the Court upon that which you have moved, the Court will withdraw for a time.

King. 'Shall I withdraw?'

President. Sir, you shall know the pleasure of the Court presently: the Court withdraws for half an hour into the Court of Wards.

Serjeant at Arms, the Court gives command that the prisoner be withdrawn, and they give order for his return again.

The Court withdraws for half an hour and returns.

President. Serjeant at Arms, send for your prisoner.

Sir, you were pleased to make a motion here to the Court, to offer a desire of your's touching the propounding of somewhat to the Lords in the Painted Chamber for the peace of the kingdom: Sir, you did in effect receive an answer before the Court adjourned; truly, Sir, their withdrawing and adjournment was *pro forma tantum*, for it did not seem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing; they have considered of what you have moved, and have considered of their own authority, which is founded (as hath been often said) upon the supreme authority of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, the Court acts according to the commission. Sir, the return I have to you from the Court, is this, that they have been too much delayed by you already, and this that you now offer hath occasioned some little further delay, and they are Judges appointed by the highest Judges, and judges are no more to delay, than they are to deny justice: they are good words in the old charter of England, *Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli deferemus justitiam*. There must be no delay; but the truth is, Sir, and so every man here observes it, that you have much delayed them in your contempt and default, for which they might have

long since proceeded to judgment against you, and notwithstanding what you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to punishment, and to judgment, and that is their unanimous resolution.

King. 'Sir, I know it is in vain for me to dispute, I am no sceptic for to deny the power that you have, I know that you have power enough; Sir, I confess I think it would have been for the kingdom's peace, if you would have taken the pains for to have shown the lawfulness of your power; for this delay, that I have desired, I confess it is a delay, but it is a delay very important for the peace of the kingdom, for it is not my person that I look on alone, it is the kingdom's welfare, and the kingdom's peace. It is an old sentence; That we should think on long, before we have resolved of great matters suddenly. Therefore, Sir, I do say again, that I do put at your doors all the inconveniency of an hasty sentence; I confess, I have been here now I think this week; this day eight days, was the day I came here first, but a little delay of a day or two further, may give peace, whereas an hasty judgment may bring on that trouble and perpetual inconveniency to the kingdom, that the child that is unborn may repent it, and therefore again out of the duty I owe to God, and to my country, I do desire that I may be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, or any other chamber that you will appoint me.'

President. Sir, you have been already answered to what you even now moved, being the same you moved before, since the resolution and the judgment of the Court in it, and the Court now requires to know whether you have any more to say for yourself, than you have said, before they proceed the sentence.

King. 'I say this, Sir, that if you will hear me, if you will give me but this delay, I doubt not but I shall give some satisfaction to you all here, and to my people after that, and therefore I do require you, as you will answer it in the dreadful day of judgment, that you will consider it once again.'

President. Sir, I have received direction from the Court.

King. 'Well, Sir.'

President. If this must be reinforced or any thing of this nature, your answer must be the same, and they will proceed to sentence if you have nothing more to say.

King. 'I have nothing more to say, but I shall desire that this may be entered, what I have said.'

President. The Court then, Sir, hath something to say unto you, which although I know it will be very unacceptable, yet notwithstanding they are willing, and are resolved to discharge their duty.

Sir, you speak very well of a precious thing that you call peace, and it had been much to be wished that God had put it into your heart, that you had as effectually and really endeavoured and studied the peace of the kingdom; as now in words you seem to pretend; but as you were told the other day, actions must expound intentions, your actions have been clean contrary, and truly, Sir, it doth appear plainly enough to them, that you have gone upon very erroneous principles; the kingdom hath felt it to their smart, and it will be no case to you to think of it, for, Sir, you have held yourself, and let fall such language, as if you had been no ways subject to the law, or that the law had not been your superior. Sir, the Court is very well sensible of it, and I hope so are all the understanding people of England, that the law is your superior: that you ought to have ruled according to the law, you ought to have done so, Sir. I know very well your pretence hath been that you have done so; but, Sir, the difference hath been, who shall be the expositors of this law; Sir, whether you and your party out of courts of justice, shall take upon them to expound law, or the courts of justice, who are the expounders; nay, the sovereign and the High Court of Justice, the Parliament of England, who are not only the highest expounders, but the sole makers of the law. Sir, for you to set yourself with your single judgment, and those that adhere unto you, against the highest Court of Justice, that is not law: Sir, as the law is your superior, so truly, Sir, there is something superior to the law, and that is indeed the parent or author of the law, and that is the people of England. For, Sir, as they are those that at the first (as other countries have done), did chuse to themselves this form of government, even for justice sake, that justice might be administered, that peace might be preserved: so, Sir, they gave laws to their governors, according to which they should govern; and if those laws should have proved inconvenient, or prejudicial to the public, they had a power in them, and reserved to themselves, to alter as they should see cause. Sir, it is very true, what some of your side have said, *Rex non habet parem in Regno*. This Court will say the same while King, that you have not your peer in some sense, for you are *Major singulis*, but they will aver again, that you are *Minor universis*; and the same author tells you, that in *exhibitione juris*, there you have no power, but are *quasi minimus*:

This we know to be law, *Rex habet superiorem, deum et legem, etiam et curiam*, so says the same author; and truly, Sir, he makes bold to go a little further, *Debent ei ponere frænum*, they ought to bridle him; and, Sir, we know very well the stories of old; those wars

that were called the Barons' wars, when the nobility of the land did stand out for the liberty and property of the subject, and would not suffer the Kings that did invade, to play the tyrants here, but called them to account for it, we know that truth, that they did *frænum poscere*. But, Sir, if they do forbear to do their duty now, and are not so mindful of their own honour and the kingdom's good, certainly the Commons of England will not be unmindful of what is for their preservation and for their safety: *Justitiæ fruendi causâ reges constituti sunt*. This we learn is the end of having Kings, or any other governors, it's for the enjoying of justice, that's the end. Now, Sir, if so be, the King will go contrary to the end of his government, Sir, he must understand that he is but an officer of trust, and he ought to discharge that trust, and they are to take order for the animadversion and punishment of such an offending governor.

This is not law of yesterday, Sir, (since the time of the division betwixt you and your people,) but it is law of old; and we know very well the authors and authorities that do tell us what the law was in that point upon the election of Kings, upon the oath that they took unto their people, and if they did not observe it, there were those things called Parliaments. The Parliaments were they that were to adjudge (the very words of the author) the complaints and wrongs done of the King and Queen, or their children; such wrongs especially, when the people could have no where else any remedy. Sir, that hath been the people of England's case, they could not have their remedy elsewhere but in Parliament.

Sir, Parliaments were ordained for that purpose to redress the grievances of the people, that was their main end; and truly, Sir, if so be that the Kings of England had been rightly mindful of themselves, they were never more in majesty and state than in the Parliament: but how forgetful some have been, histories have told us; we have a miserable, a lamentable, a sad experience of it. Sir, by the old laws of England (I speak these things the rather to you, because you were pleased to let fall the other day, you thought that you had as much knowledge in the law as most gentlemen in England; it is very well, Sir. And truly, Sir, it is very good for the gentlemen of England to understand that law under which they must live, and by which they must be governed. And then, Sir, the scripture says, They that know their master's will, and do it not, what follows? The law is your master, the acts of Parliaments; the Parliaments were to be kept anciently, we find in our author, twice in the year, that the subject upon any occasion, might have a ready remedy and redress for his grievance. After-

wards, by several Acts of Parliament in the days of your predecessor, Edward the Third, they must have been once a year. Sir, what intermission of Parliaments hath been in your time is very well known; and the sad consequences of it, and what in the interim, instead of these Parliaments, hath been by you, by an high and arbitrary hand introduced upon the people, that likewise hath been too well known and felt. But when God by his Providence had so brought it about that you could no longer decline the calling of a Parliament, Sir, yet it will appear what your ends were against the ancient, and your native kingdom of Scotland: the Parliament of England, not serving your ends against them, you were pleased to dissolve it. Another great necessity occasioned the calling of this Parliament, and what your designs and plots and endeavours all along have been for the ruining and confounding of this Parliament, hath been very notorious to the whole kingdom; and truly, Sir, in that you did strike at all; that had been a sure way to have brought about that, that this lays upon you; your intention to subvert the fundamental laws of the land. For the great bulwark of liberty of the people, is the Parliament of England; and to subvert and root up that which your aim hath been to do, certainly at one blow, you had confounded the liberties and the propriety of England.

Truly, Sir, it makes me call to mind, I cannot forbear to express it; for, Sir, we must deal plainly with you, according to the merits of your cause, so is our commission; it makes me call to mind (these proceedings of your's) that we read of a great Roman Emperor, by the way let us call him a great Roman tyrant Caligula, that wished that the people of Rome had but one neck, that at one blow he might cut it off: and your proceedings have been somewhat like to his, for the body of the people of England hath been (and where else represented but) in the Parliament, and could you have but confounded that, you had at one blow cut off the neck of England: but God hath reserved better things for us, and hath pleased for to confound your designs, and to break your forces, and to bring your person into custody, that you might be responsible to justice.

Sir, we know very well, that it is a question on your side very much pressed, By what precedent we shall proceed? Truly, Sir, for precedents, I shall not at this time make any long discourse, but it is no new thing to cite precedents almost of all nations, where the people (when power hath been in their hands) have not sticke to call their Kings to account, and where the change of government hath ensued upon occasions of the tyranny and mis-government of those that have been placed over them; I will not spend time to mention France or Spain, or the

empire or other countries, volumes may be written of them; but truly, Sir, that of the kingdom of Arragon, I should think some of us have thought upon it, where they have the justice of Arragon; that is a man, *sicquam in medio positus*, betwixt the King of Spain, and the people of the country, that if wrong be done by the King, he that is the King of Arragon, the justice hath power to reform the wrong, and he is acknowledged to be the King's superior, and is the grand preserver of their privileges, and hath prosecuted Kings upon their miscarriages.

Sir, what the tribunes of Rome were heretofore, and what the Ephori were to the Lacedæmonian State, we know that is the Parliament of England to the English State; and though Rome seem to have lost its liberty when once the Emperors were, yet you shall find some famous acts of justice even done by the Senate of Rome; that great tyrant of his time, Nero, condemned and judged by the Senate. But truly, Sir, to you I should not mention these foreign examples and stories. If you look but over Tweed, we find enough in your native kingdom of Scotland. If we look to your first King, Fergusius, that your stories make mention of, he was an elective King, he died, and left two sons, both in their minority, the kingdom made choice of their uncle, his brother, to govern in the minority; afterwards the elder brother giving small hopes to the people that he would rule or govern well, seeking to supplant that good uncle of his, that governed them justly, they set the elder aside, and took to the younger. Sir, if I should come to what your stories make mention of, you know very well you are the 109th King of Scotland; for to mention so many Kings as that kingdom, according to their power and privilege, have made bold to deal withal, some to banish, and some to imprison, and some to put to death, it would be too long; and as one of your authors says, it would be too long to recite the manifold examples that your own stories make mention of; *Reges* (say they) we do create, we created Kings at first; *Leges*, &c. We imposed laws upon them; and as they are chosen by the suffrages of the people at the first, so upon just occasion, by the same suffrages, they may be taken down again: and we will be bold to say, that no kingdom hath yielded more plentiful experience than that your native kingdom of Scotland hath done, concerning the deposition and the punishment of their offending and transgressing Kings, &c.

It is not far to go for an example near you, your grandmother set aside, and your father an infant crowned; and the State did it here in England; here hath not been a want of some examples, they have made bold (the Parliament and the people of England) to call their Kings to account, there are frequent examples of it in the Saxons' time, the time

before the conquest; since the conquest there wants not some precedents neither; King Edward the Second, King Richard the Second, were dealt with so by the Parliament, as they were deposed and deprived: and truly, Sir, whoever shall look into their stories, they shall not find the articles that are charged upon them to come near to that height and capitalness of crimes that are laid to your charge, nothing near.

Sir, you were pleased to say the other day, wherein they descend, and I did not contradict it, but take altogether. Sir, if you were as the charge speaks, and no otherwise admitted King of England, but for that you were pleased then to alledge, how that almost for a thousand years these things have been, stories will tell you, if you go no higher than the time of the conquest; if you do come down since the conquest, you are the 24th King from William, called the Conqueror, you shall find one half of them to come merely from the State, and not merely upon the point of descent; it were easy to be instanced to you, the time must not be lost that way. And truly, Sir, what a grave and learned Judge said in this time, and well known to you, is since priated for posterity, That although there was such a thing as a descent many times, yet the Kings of England ever held the greatest assurance of their titles, when it was declared by Parliament. And, Sir, your oath, the manner of your coronation doth shew plainly, that as to the Kings of England, though it's true by the law the next person in blood is designed; yet if there were just cause to refuse him, the people of England might do it. For there is a contract and bargain made between the King and his people, and your oath is taken, and certainly, Sir, the bond is reciprocal; for as you are the liege Lord, so they liege subjects, and we know very well what hath been so much spoken of, *Ligatio est duplex*. This we know now, the one tie, the one bond, is the bond of perfection which is due from the sovereign; the other is the bond of subjection that is due from the subject. Sir, if this bond be once broken, farewell sovereignty, *Subjectio trahit*, &c.

These things may not be denied, Sir; I speak it the rather, and I pray God it may work upon your heart, that you may be sensible of your miscarriages. For whether you have been, as by your office you ought to be, a protector of England, or the destroyer of England, let all England judge, or all the world that hath looked upon it. Sir, though you have it by inheritance in the way that is spoken of, yet it must not be denied that your office was an office of trust, and an office of the highest trust lodged in any single person. For as you were the grand administrator of justice, and others were as your delegates to see it done throughout your realms, if your great office were to do justice,

and preserve your people from wrong, and instead of doing that you will be the great wrong-doer yourself. If instead of being a conservator of the peace, you will be the grand disturber of the peace, surely this is contrary to your office, contrary to your trust. Now, Sir, if it be an office of inheritance, as you speak of, your title by descent, let all men know that great offices are seizable and forfeitable; as if you had it but for a year, and for your life: therefore, Sir, it will concern you to take into your serious consideration your great miscarriages in this kind.

Truly, Sir, I shall not particularize the many miscarriages of your reign whatsoever, they are famously known, it had been happy for the kingdom, and happy for you too, if it had not been so much known and so much felt, as the story of your miscarriages must needs be, and hath been already.

Sir, that that we are now upon by the command of the highest Court, hath been and is to try and judge you for great offences of your's. Sir, the charge hath called you tyrant, a traitor, a murderer, and a public enemy to the Commonwealth of England. Sir, it had been well if that any of all these terms might rightly and justly have been spared, if any one of them at all.

King. 'Ha?'

President. Truly, Sir, we have been told, *Rex est dum bene regit, tyrannus qui populum opprimit*; and if so be that be the definition of a tyrant, then see how you come short of it in your actions, whether the highest tyrant by that way of arbitrary government, and that you have sought to introduce, and that you have sought to put, you were putting upon the people, whether that was not as high an act of tyranny as any of your predecessors were guilty of, nay many degrees beyond it.

Sir, the term traitor cannot be spared, we shall easily agree it must denote and suppose a breach of trust, and it must suppose it to be done by a superior; and therefore, Sir, as the people of England might have incurred that respecting you, if they had been truly guilty of it, as to the definition of law; so on the other side, when you did break your trust to the kingdom, you did break your trust to your superior: for the kingdom is that for which you were trusted. And therefore, Sir, for this breach of trust, when you are called to account, you are called to account by your superiors. *Minimus ad majorem in judicium vocat*. And, Sir, the people of England cannot be so far wanting to themselves, which God having dealt so miracu-

lously and gloriously for, they having power in their hands, and their great enemy, they must proceed to do justice to themselves and to you. For, Sir, the Court could heartily desire, that you would lay your hand upon your heart, and consider what you have done amiss; that you would endeavour to make your peace with God. Truly, Sir, these are your high crimes, tyranny and treason.

There is a third thing too, if those had not been, and that is murder, which is laid to your charge. All the bloody murders that have been committed since the time that the division was betwixt you and your people, must be laid to your charge, that have been acted or committed in these late wars. Sir, it is an heinous and crying sin; and truly, Sir, if any man will ask us what punishment is due to a murderer, let God's law, let man's law speak. Sir, I will presume that you are so well read in scripture, as to know what God himself hath said concerning the shedding of man's blood; Gen. ix. Num. xxxv. will tell you what the punishment is, and which this Court in behalf of the kingdom are sensible of, of that innocent blood that has been shed, whereby indeed the land stands still defiled with that blood, and as the text hath it, It can no way be cleansed, but with the shedding of the blood of him that shed this blood. Sir, we know no dispensation from this blood in that commandment, Thou shalt do no murder; we do not know but that it extends to Kings, as well as to the meanest peasants, the meanest of the people, the command is universal. Sir, God's law forbids it, man's law forbids it, now do we know that there is any manner of exception, nor even in man's laws, for the punishment of murder in you. 'Tis true, that in the case of Kings, every private hand was not to put forth itself to this work for their reformation and punishment. But, Sir, the people represented having power in their hands, had there been but one wilful act of murder by you committed, had power to have convented you, and to have punished you for it.

But then, Sir, the weight that lies upon you in all these respects that have been spoken, by reason of your tyranny, treason, breach of trust, and the murders that have been committed; surely, Sir, it must drive you into a sad consideration concerning your eternal condition. As I said at first, I know it cannot be pleasing to you to hear any such things as these are mentioned unto you from this Court, for so we do call ourselves, and justify ourselves to be a Court, and a High Court of Justice, authorized by the highest and solemnest Court of the kingdom, as we have often said; and although you do yet endeavour what

you may to discount us, yet we do take knowledge of ourselves to be such a Court as can administer justice to you, and we are bound, Sir, in duty to do it. Sir, all I shall say before the reading of your sentence, it is but this; the Court does heartily desire, that you will seriously think of those evils that you stand guilty of. Sir, you said well to us the other day, you wished us to have God before our eyes: truly, Sir, I hope all of us have so, that God that we know is a King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; that God with whom there is no respect of persons; that God that is the avenger of innocent blood, we have that God before us; that God that does bestow a curse upon them that withhold their hands from shedding of blood, which is the case of guilty malefactors, and that to deserve death: that God we have before our eyes, that were it not that the conscience of our duty hath called us unto this place, and this employment, Sir, you should have had no appearance of a Court here: but, Sir, we must prefer the discharge of our duty unto God, and unto the kingdom, before any other respect whatsoever: and although at this time many of us, if not all of us, are severely threatened by some of your party, what they intend to do; Sir, we do here declare, that we shall not decline, or forbear the doing of our duty in the administration of justice even to you, according to the merit of your offence, although God should permit those men to effect all that bloody design in hand against us. Sir, we will say, and we will declare it, as those children in the fiery furnace, that would not worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar had set up, That their God was able to deliver them from that danger that they were near unto; but yet if he would not do it yet, notwithstanding that, they would not fall down and worship the image: we shall thus apply it: That though we should not be delivered from those bloody hands and hearts that conspire the overthrow of the kingdom in general, of us in particular, for acting in this great work of justice, though we should perish in the work, yet by God's grace, and by God's strength, we will go on with it: and this is all our resolutions. Sir, I say for yourself, we do heartily wish and desire, that God would be pleased to give you a sense of your sins, that you would see wherein you have done amiss, that you may cry unto him, that God would deliver you from blood-guiltiness. A good King was once guilty of that particular thing, and was clear otherwise, saving in the matter of Uriah. Truly, Sir, the story tells us, that he was a repentant King, and it signifies enough that he had died for it, but that God was pleased to accept of him, and to give him his pardon: Thou shalt not

die, but the child shall die, thou hast given cause to the enemies of God to blaspheme.

King. 'I would desire only one word before you give sentence, and that is, that you would hear me concerning those great imputations that you have laid to my charge.'

President. Sir, you must give me leave to go on, for I am not far from your sentence, and your time is now past.

King. 'But I shall desire you will hear me a few words to you; for truly whatever sentence you will put upon me, in respect of those heavy imputations I see by your speech you have put upon me, that I, Sir, it is very true that ———'

President. Sir, I must put you in mind, truly, Sir, I would not willingly at this time, especially, interrupt you in any thing you have to say, that is proper for us to admit of; but, Sir, you have not owned us a Court, and you look upon us as a sort of people met together, and we know what language we receive from your party.

King. 'I know nothing of that.'

President. You disavow us as a Court, and therefore for you to address yourself to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what you say, it is not to be permitted; and the truth is all along from the first time, you were pleased to disavow and disown us, the Court needed not to have heard you one word; for unless they be acknowledged a Court and engaged, it is not proper for you to speak. Sir, we have given you too much liberty already, and admitted of too much delay, and we may not admit of any further; were it proper for us to do, we should hear you freely, and we should not have declined to have heard you at large, what you could have said or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excusing or for in part excusing those great and heinous charges that in whole or in part are laid upon you. But, Sir, I shall trouble you no longer, your sins are of so large a dimension, that if you do but seriously think of them, they will drive you to a sad consideration, they may improve in you a sad and serious repentance. And that the Court doth heartily wish, that you may be so penitent for what you have done amiss, that God may have mercy at leastwise upon your better part. Truly, Sir, for the other, it is our parts and duties to do that that the law prescribes, we are not here *Jus dare*, and *Jus dicere*; we cannot be unmindful of what the scriptures tell, For to acquit the guilty is of equal abomination as to condemn the innocent; we may not acquit the guilty; what sentence the law affords to a traitor, tyrant, a murderer, and a public enemy to the country,

that sentence you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the sentence of the Court.

The Lord President commands the sentence to be read. Make an O Yes, and command silence while the sentence is read.

O yes made, silence commanded:

The Clerk read the sentence, which was drawn up in parchment.

‘Whereas the Commons of England in Parliament have appointed them an High Court of Justice for the trying of Charles Stuart, King of England, before whom he had been three times convicted, and at first time a charge of high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors was read in the behalf of the kingdom of England,’ &c.

Here the Clerk read the charge.

Which charge being read unto him as aforesaid, he the said Charles Stuart, was required to give his answer, but he refused so to do, and so expressed the several passages at his trial in refusing to answer.

For all which treasons and crimes, this Court doth adjudge, that the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public enemy, shall be put to death, by the severing his head from his body.

After the sentence read, the Lord President said,

This sentence now read and published, it is the act, sentence, judgment, and resolution of the whole Court.

Here the Court stood up, as assenting to what the President said.

King. ‘Will you hear me a word, Sir?’

President. Sir, you are not to be heard after the sentence.

King. ‘No, Sir?’

President. No, Sir, by your favour, Sir. Guard, withdraw your prisoner.

King. ‘I may speak after the sentence. ———’

‘By your favour, Sir, I may speak after the sentence ever.’

By your favour (hold) the sentence, Sir; ———

‘I say, Sir, I do ———’

‘I am not suffered for to speak, expect what justice other people will have.’

O yes, all manner of persons that have any thing else to do, are to depart at this time, and to give their attendance in the Painted Chamber, to which place this Court doth forthwith adjourn itself.

Then the Court rose, and the King went with his guard to Sir Robert Cotton’s, and from thence to Whitehall.

The Names of those Persons that were present at the sentencing of the King to Death.

John Bradshaw, President,
 John Lisle,
 William Say,
 Oliver Cromwell,
 Henry Ireton,
 Sir Hardresse Waller,
 Valentine Walton,
 Thomas Harrison,
 Edward Whaley,
 Thomas Pride,
 Isaac Ewers,
 Lord Gray, of Groby,
 Sir John Danvers, Knight,
 Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bart.
 Sir John Bourchier, Knight,
 William Heveningham,
 Alderman Pennington,
 William Purefoy,
 Henry Martin,
 John Barkstead,
 John Blakiston,
 Gilbert Millington,
 Sir William Constable, Bart.
 Edmond Ludlow,
 John Hutchinson,
 Sir Mich. Livesay, Bart.
 Robert Tichborn,
 Owen Roe,
 Robert Lilburn,
 Adrian Scroop,
 Richard Deane,
 John Okey,
 John Hewson,

William Goffe,
 Cornelius Holland,
 John Carew,
 John Jones,
 Miles Corbet,
 Francis Allin,
 Peregrine Peckham,
 John Moore,
 John Aldred,
 Henry Smith,
 Humphrey Edwards,
 Gregory Clement,
 Thomas Woogan,
 Sir Gregory Norton, Knight,
 Edmond Harvy,
 John Venn,
 Thomas Scot,
 Tho. Andrews, Alderman,
 William Cawly,
 Anthony Stapley,
 John Downes,
 Thomas Horton,
 Thomas Hammond,
 Nicholas Love,
 Vincent Potter,
 Augustine Gariand,
 John Dixwel,
 George Fleetwood,
 Symon Meyne,
 James Temple,
 Peter Temple,
 Daniel Blagrove,
 Thomas Waite.

‘ Ordered, that Sir Hardresse Waller, Colonel Harrison, Colonel General Ireton, Colonel Dean, and Colonel Okey, are appointed a

committee to consider of the time and place for the execution of the King, according to his sentence given by the High Court of Justice.

Painted Chamber, Lane, January 29, 1648,

Upon report made from the committee for considering of the time and place of the executing of the judgment against the King: that the said committee have resolved that the open street before Whitehall, is a fit place; and that the said committee conceive it fit, that the King be there executed the morrow, the King having already notice thereof; the Court approved thereof, and ordered a warrant to be drawn for that purpose, which warrant was accordingly drawn and agreed unto; and ordered to be engrossed, which was done, and signed and sealed accordingly, as followeth:

At the High Court of Justice for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, King of England, January 29, 1648.

Whereas Charles Stuart, King of England, is, and standeth convicted, attainted, and condemned of high treason, and other high crimes, and sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body.; of which sentence, execution yet remains to be done. These are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed in the open street, before Whitehall, upon the morrow, being the 30th day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning, and five in the afternoon of the same day, with full effect; and for so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant. And these are to require all officers and soldiers, and other the good people of this nation of England, to be assisting unto you in this service.

Given under our hands and seals.

To Colonel Francis Hacker, Colonel Hunks, and Lieutenant-Colonel Phray, and to every of them.

Sealed and subscribed by,

J. Bradshaw, O. Cromwell, Hen. Ireton, Har. Waller, Jo. Lisle, Val. Walton, Tho. Gray, Ed. Whaley, Mich. Livesey, Jo. Okey, Jo. Danvers, Tho. Maleverer, Will. Goffe, Tho. Pride, Tho. Harrison, Jo. Hewson, Ri. Dean, Robert Tichborn, Owen Roe, Jo. Barkstead, G. Fleetwood, Gil. Millington, Tho. Horton, W. Say, W. Constable, Miles Corbet, Jo. Ven, Hen. Martin, &c.

Painted Chamber, January 30, 1648.

The commissioners met, and ordered, that Mr. Marshall, Mr. Nye, Mr. Carryll, Mr. Salway, and Mr. Dail, be desired to attend the King, to administer to him those spiritual helps as should be suitable to his present condition, and Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe is desired forthwith to repair unto them for that purpose.

Who did so, but after informed the Court, that the King being acquainted therewith, refused to confer with them, expressing that he would not be troubled with them.

Ordered, that the scaffold upon which the King is to be executed, be covered with black.

The warrant for executing the King being accordingly delivered to those parties to whom the same was directed, execution was done upon him according to the tenor of the warrant, about two of the clock in the afternoon of the said 30th of January.

After sentence, the King being hurried from their bar, as he passed down the stairs, the common soldiers (laying aside all reverence to sovereignty) scoffed at him, casting the smoke of their stinking tobacco in his face (no smell more offensive to him), and flinging their foul pipes at his feet; but one more insolent than the rest, defiled his venerable face with his spittle, for his Majesty was observed with much patience to wipe it off with his handkerchief, as he passed. Hearing them cry out, Justice, Justice; Poor souls (said he) for a piece of money they would do so for their commanders. That night, being Saturday, January 27, the King lodged at Whitehall; that evening a member of the army acquainted the committee with the desires of the King, that seeing they had passed sentence of death upon him, and the time of his execution might be nigh, that he might see his children, and receive the sacrament, and that Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, might be admitted to pray with him in his private chamber: both which were granted.

The next day, being Sunday, January 28, the King was attended by his guard to St. James's, where the Bishop of London preached privately before him; his text was in Rom. ii. 16. In the day when God shall judge the secrets of man by Jesus Christ, according to my gospel.

Monday, January 29.—His children were permitted to come to him, where passed this following discourse, as it was set down in writing by his daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, (which Lady Elizabeth, some

months after, being confined to Carisbroke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, died there with grief for the sufferings of her dear father).

His children being come to met him, he first gave his blessing to the Lady Elizabeth, and bid her to remember to tell her brother James, whenever she should see him, that it was his father's last desire that he should no more look upon Charles as his eldest brother only, but be obedient unto him as his sovereign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their father's enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweetheart you'll forget this. No (said she) I shall never forget it whilst I live; and pouring forth abundance of tears, promised him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the duke of Gloucester upon his knee, said, Sweetheart, now they will cut off thy father's head (upon which words the child looking very stedfastly on him); mark, child, what I say, they will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a King. But mark what I say, you must not be a King, so long as your brothers, Charles and James do live; for they will cut off your brothers' heads (when they can catch them), and cut off thy head too at last: and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them. At which the child sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first: which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoice exceedingly.

Tuesday, January 30.—(The fatal day) he was about ten of the clock brought from his palace at St. James's to Whitehall, marched on foot (guarded with a regiment of foot soldiers) through the Park, with their colours flying, and drums beating, his private guard of partizans about him, Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, on one side, and Colonel Thomlinson on the other, both bare headed, bidding them go faster, saying, That he now went before them to strive for a heavenly crown with less solicitude, than he had often times bid his soldiers to fight for an earthly diadem. Being come to the end of the Park; he ascends the stairs leading to the long gallery in Whitehall, and so into the Cabinet Chamber, where he formerly used to lodge; there his Majesty, with the Bishop of London, continued for some time in devotion, and received the blessed sacrament from the hand of the said Bishop; at which time he read for the second lesson, the 27th chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel, which contained the history of the death and passion of our blessed Saviour; the communion ended, his Majesty thanked the Bishop for selecting so seasonable and comfortable a portion of scripture. The Bishop modestly replied, No thanks were due

to him, for it was the chapter appointed by the Rubrick of the Church, for the second morning lesson for that day, being January 30. Here the King continued at his devotion, refusing to dine, only about twelve of the clock, he eat a bit of bread, and drank a glass of claret, from thence about one o'clock he was accompanied by Dr. Juxon and Colonel Thomlinson, and other officers formerly appointed to attend him, and the private guard of partizans, with musketeers on each side, through the Banqueting House, adjoining to which the scaffold was erected, between Whitehall gate, and the gate leading into the gallery from Saint James's. The scaffold was hung round with black, the floor covered with black baize, and the ax and block laid in the middle of the scaffold. There were divers companies of foot of Colonel Pride's regiment, and several troops of horse placed on the one side of the scaffold toward King-street, and one the other side toward Charing-cross, and the multitudes of people that came to be spectators very great. The King being come upon the scaffold, it was expected he would say something to the people, which he did.

But because we have no other relation of what his Majesty then spoke, save what was taken in short hand on the scaffold by three several gentlemen, who were very exquisite in that art; nor had his Majesty any copy (being surprised and hastened by those who attended him to the scaffold), save only a few heads in a little scrap of paper, which after his death, the soldiers took from the Bishop of London, to whom he gave it: therefore the reader must be content with this copy, which was by them upon joint comparing of the copies published, some few words being altered to make the sense perfect.

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himself to the soldiers and officers (the instruments of the regicide), spoke to them to this effect:

The King being come upon the Scaffold, looked very earnestly upon the Block, and asked Colonel Hacker if there were no higher? And then spoke thus (directing his Speech chiefly to Colonel Thomson):

King. 'I shall be very little heard of any body here, I shall therefore speak a word unto you here: indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make some men think, that I did submit to the guilt as well as to the punishment; but I think it is my duty to God first, and to my country, for to clear myself both as an honest man, a good King, and a good Christian. I shall begin first with my innocence; in troth, I think it not very needful for me to insist long upon this, for all the world knows that I never did begin a war with the two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to witness, to whom I must shortly make an account, that I never did intend to encroach upon their privileges, they began upon me; it is the militia they began upon: they confessed that the militia was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from me: and, to be short, if any body will look to the dates of commissions, of their commissions and mine, and likewise to the declarations, will see clearly that they began these unhappy troubles, not I. So that as to the guilt of these enormous crimes that are laid against me, I hope in God that God will clear me of it; I will not, I am in charity: God forbid that I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt: for I do believe that ill instruments between them and me, has been the chief cause of all this bloodshed: so that by way of speaking, as I find myself clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too; yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian as not to say that God's judgments are just upon me. Many times he does pay justice by an unjust sentence, that is ordinary. I will only say this, that unjust sentence—[Stafford]—that I suffered for to take effect, is punished now by an unjust sentence upon me. So far I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent man.

'Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian: I hope there is—[pointing to Dr. Juxon]—a good man that will bear me witness, that I have forgiven all the world, and even those in particular that have been the chief causes of my death; who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my charity must go farther, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular: I pray God, with St.

Stephen, that this be not led to their charge; nay, not only so, but that they may take the right way to the peace of the kingdom; for my charity commands me not only to forgive particular men, but my charity commands me to endeavour to the last gasp the peace of the kingdom. So, Sir, I do wish with all my soul (and I do hope there is some here—[turning to some gentlemen that wrote]—will carry it further) that they may endeavour the peace of the kingdom.

‘Now, Sirs, I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and will put you in the way: First, you are out of the way. For certainly all the way, you ever have had yet, as I could find by any thing, is in the way of conquest; certainly this is an ill way. For conquest, Sirs, in my opinion is never just, except there be a good just cause, either for matter of wrong, or just title, and then if you go beyond it, the first quarrel that you have to it, is it that makes it unjust at the end that was just at first. But if it be only matter of conquest, then it is a great robbery, as a pirate said to Alexander, that he was the great robber, he was but a petty robber: and so, Sir, I do think the way that you are in, is much out of the way. Now, Sir, for to put you in your own way, believe it, you will never do right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give God his due, the King his due (that is my successors), and the people their due: I am as much for them as any of you. You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his church (according to his scriptures), which is now out of order: for to set you in a way, particularly now I cannot, but only this, a national synod freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this; when that every opinion is freely and clearly heard.

‘For the King indeed I will not — (Then turning to a gentleman that touched the ax, said, Hurt not the ax that may hurt—[Meaning if he did blunt the edge]—me.) For the King, the laws of the land will clearly instruct you for that: therefore, because it concerns my own particular, I only give you a touch of it.

‘For the people: and truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as any body whatsoever, but I must tell you, that their liberty and freedom consists in having of government, those laws by which their life and their goods may be most their own. It is not for having share in government, Sirs, that is nothing pertaining to them: a subject and a sovereign are clear different things, and therefore until they do that, I mean, that you do put the people in that liberty, as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

‘Sirs, it was for this that now I am come here; if I would have given way to an arbitrary way, for to have all laws changed according

to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the martyr of the people.

‘In troth, Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer, for I will only say this to you, that in truth I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this that I have said in a little more order, and a little better digested than I have done, and therefore I hope you will excuse me.

‘I have delivered my conscience, I pray God that you do take those courses that are best for the good of the kingdom, and your own salvations.’

Dr. Juxon. Will your Majesty (though it may be very well known, your Majesty’s affections to religion, yet it may be expected that you should) say somewhat for the world’s satisfaction?

King. ‘I thank you heartily, my Lord, for that; I had almost forgotten it. In troth, Sirs, my conscience in religion, I think, is very well known to all the world, and therefore I declare before you all, that I die a Christian according to the profession of the church of England, as I found it left me by my father; and this honest man—[Pointing to Dr. Juxon]—I think will witness it. Then turning to the officers, said, Sirs, excuse me for this same, I have a good cause, and I have a gracious God, I will say no more. Then turning to Colonel Hacker, he said, Take care they do not put me to pain, and, Sir, this and it please you. But then a gentleman coming near the ax, the King said, Take heed of the ax, take heed of the ax. Then the King speaking to the executioner, said, I shall say but very short prayers, and when I thrust out my hands —————

Then the King called to Doctor Juxon for his nightcap, and having put it on, he said to the executioner, Does my hair trouble you? who desired him to put it all under his cap, which the King did accordingly, by the help of the executioner and the Bishop. Then the King turning to Dr. Juxon, said, I have a good cause, and a gracious God on my side.

Dr. Juxon. There is but one stage more, this stage is turbulent and troublesome, it is a short one: but you may consider, it will soon carry you a very great way: it will carry you from earth to Heaven; and there you shall find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.

King. I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world.

Dr. Juxon. You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown, a good exchange.

The King then said to the executioner, is my hair well? Then the King took off his cloak and his George, giving his George to Doctor Juxon, saying, Remember.—[It is thought for to give it to the Prince.]—Then the King put off his doublet, and being in his waistcoat, put his cloak on again, then looking upon the block, said to the executioner, You must set it fast.

Executioner. It is fast, Sir.

King. When I put my hands out this way, stretching them out, then ———

After that, having said two or three words (as he stood) to himself, with hands and eyes lifted up; immediately stooping down, laid his neck upon the block: and then the executioner again putting his hair under his cap, the King said (thinking he had been going to strike), Stay for the sign.

Executioner. Yes, I will, and it please your Majesty.

And after a very little pause, the King stretching forth his hands, the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body. The head being off, the executioner held it up, and shewed it to the people; which done, it was with the body put in a coffin covered with black velvet for that purpose, and conveyed into his lodgings there: and from thence it was carried to his house at Saint James's, where his body was embalmed and put in a coffin of lead; laid there a fortnight to be seen by the people; and on the Wednesday seven-night after, his corps embalmed and coffined in lead, was delivered chiefly to the care of four of his servants, viz. Mr. Herbert, Captain Anthony Mildmay, his sewers, Captain Preston, and John Joyner, formerly cook to his Majesty; they attended with others clothed in mourning suits and cloaks, accompanied the hearse that night to Windsor, placed it in that which was formerly the King's bed-chamber; next day it was removed into the Dean's Hall, which room was hanged with black, and made dark; lights burning round the hearse, in which it remained till three in the afternoon, about which time came the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hertford, the Marquis of Dorchester, the Earl of Lindsey, having obtained an order from the Parliament for the decent interment of the King, their royal master, provided the expence thereof exceeded not five hundred pounds. At their coming into the Castle, they shewed their order of Parliament to Colonel Wichcot, Governor of the Castle, desiring the interment might be in St. George's chapel, and by the form in the Common Prayer Book of the church of England; this request was by the Governor denied, saying, It was improbable that the Parliament should permit the use of what they had so solemnly abo-

lished, and therein destroy their own act. To which the Lords replied, There is a difference betwixt destroying their own act, and dispensing with it, and that no power so binds its own hands, as to disable itself in some cases. All could not prevail, the Governor persisting in the negative, the Lords betook themselves to the search of a convenient place for the burial of the corps; the which after some pains taken therein, they discover a vault in the middle of the choir, wherein, as is probably conjectured, lieth the body of King Henry the Eighth, and his beloved wife, the Lady Jane Seymour, both in coffins of lead; in this vault there being room for one more, they resolve to inter the body of the King; the which was accordingly brought to the place, borne by the officers of the garrison, the four corners of the velvet pall borne up by the aforesaid four Lords, the pious Bishop of London followed next, and other persons of quality; the body was committed to the earth with sighs and tears, especially of the Reverend Bishop, to be denied to do the last duty and service to his dear and royal master; the velvet pall being cast into the vault, was laid over the body; upon the coffin was these words set,

KING CHARLES, 1648.

His Majesty intended to have delivered in writing the following Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, Monday, January 22, 1648, but was not permitted:

‘ Having already made my protestations, not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly power can justly call me (who am your King) in question as a delinquent; I would not any more open my mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer myself to what I have spoken, were I in this case alone concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true liberty of my people, will not suffer me at this time to be silent. For, how can any free-born subject of England, call life, or any thing he possesseth, his own; if power without right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamental laws of the land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore, when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied me, concerning these grounds which hinder me to answer to your pretended impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though negatives are not so naturally proved as affirmatives), yet I will shew you the reason why I am confident you cannot judge me, nor indeed the meanest man in

England; for, I will not (like you) without showing a reason; seek to impose a belief upon my subjects.

There is no proceeding just against any man, but what is warranted—[Hereabout the King was stopped, and not suffered to speak any more concerning reason.]—either by God's laws or the municipal laws of the country where he lives. Now I am most confident, this day's proceeding cannot be warranted by God's law, for on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted, and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: and for the question now in hand there it is said, That where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Eccl. viii. 4. Then for the law of this land, I am no less confident that no learned lawyer will affirm that an impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in his name: and one of their maxims is, That the King can do no wrong. Besides, the law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old or new: if old, shew it; if new, tell what authority warranted by the fundamental laws of the land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a court of judicature, which was never one itself (as is well known to all lawyers), I leave to God and the world to judge. And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make laws without King or Lords' House, to any that have heard speak of the laws of England.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of England's commission could grant you pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man in the kingdom; and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest ploughman, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended commission without the consent, at least of the major part of every man in England, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for my own right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true liberty of all my subjects, which consists not in the power of government, but in living under such laws, such a government, as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives, and propriety of their goods. Nor in this must or do I forget the privileges of both Houses of Parliament, which this day's proceedings do not only violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their public faith, that (I believe) ever was heard of; with which I am far from changing the two Houses: for all the

pretended crimes laid against me, bear date long before this late treaty at Newport, in which I having concluded, as much as in me lay, and hopefully expecting the Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprised, and hurried from thence as a prisoner, upon which account I am against my will brought hither; where since I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the ancient laws and liberties of this kingdom, together with my own just right. Then for any thing I can see, the higher House is totally excluded. And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for me to protest against the lawfulness of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the kingdom is not the least in my thoughts; and what hope of settlement is there, so long as power reigns without rule or law, changing the whole frame of that government, under which this kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years? nor will I say what will fall out, in case this lawless unjust proceeding against me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of England will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years, under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the King my father, and myself, until the beginning of these unhappy troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the arms I took up, were only to defend the fundamental laws of this kingdom, against those who have supposed my power hath totally changed the ancient government.

‘ Thus having shewed you briefly the reasons why I cannot submit to your pretended authority, without violating the trust which I have had from God, for the welfare and liberty of my people; I expect from you either clear reasons to convince my judgment, shewing me that I am in an error (and then truly I will answer), or that you would withdraw your proceedings.’

This I intended to speak in Westminster Hall, on Monday, January 22, but against reason was hindered.

After the regicides had committed this horrid and nefarious act, the prevailing power, consisting of a packed number of the House of Commons, and the chief officers of the army, combined together, and seeing how successful and unopposed they had effected this so unparalleled a deed, to which they knew the generality of the nation were utterly averse, and as far as they durst, shewed their absolute dislike; they in the next place fall upon the alteration of the government, thinking to make sure work by subverting the ancient monarchy of this

realm, and instead whereof introducing that which they call a Free State, or Commonwealth. For constituting of which, the first thing they did, was to vote and publish by proclamation; That whereas several pretences might &c. to the apparent peace, no person presume to proclaim Charles Stuart, son late King of England, person to be King &c. by colour of other claim whatsoever consent of the ment; first signified for that purpose, any contrary notwithstanding, &c. shall or, and suffer according-

This proceeding maxim which they agreed on among That all power and nally in the people. that their councils founded, and them- the course they had incorporated again members, which had

out by the army, they resolve and decree, 1. That all those members who have assented to the vote of December 5, concerning the King's concessions (for that was the occasion of their seclusion) should never be re-admitted, and those that voted in the negative, should presently enter their said dissent, or before they were to be admitted.

And together with the fortune of monarchy was involved that of the House of Peers, who having sent to desire a conference about settling the government, in regard the Judges commissions were determined by the King's death; instead of an answer to their message, the Junto of the Commons upon debate voted, the Lords' House to be useless and dangerous, and therefore to be laid aside, as in like manner they declared the Kingly office to be unnecessary and burthensome, and



P. CHARLES.

be made to the crown, hazard of the public whatsoever should or any way promote of the said Charles land, or any other or Chief Magistrate, inheritance, or any ever, without the people in Parlia- by a particular act law or custom to the standing; and who- trary to this order be adjudged a trait- ingly.

was founded upon a had taken up, and themselves, namely, authority is origi- But well knowing had soon been con- selves interrupted in begun, if they had with those of their been forcibly kept

therefore fit to be abolished ; only they allowed the Lords the privilege of being capable to be chosen burgesses in the House of Commons : but the Lords were so highly incensed thereat, that there was suddenly published a declaration in the name of all the Peers and Barons of the realm, wherein they protest against the proceedings of the Commons. And a while after, some of the King's friends in despite of all votes, acts, and orders to the contrary, promoted a proclamation, in the name of all the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonality of the kingdom, for proclaiming Charles our present Sovereign to be King of England.

But little could unarmed declarations prevail against the reigning power of an armed faction, who now assumed new ensigns of sovereignty, cancelling the old, and caused all writs, commissions, and instruments of public concernment, to be issued out under a new stile and test, that is, Of the keepers of the liberties of England by authority of Parliament. They ordered the old Great Seal to be broken, and a new one to be made, with the arms of England and Ireland on one side, and this inscription, The Great Seal of England ; and on the other side, the House of Commons, with this inscription, In the first Year of Freedom by God's Blessing restored, 1648 ; and appointed the money to bear the arms of England and Ireland, with this motto, God with us ; and the Great Seal was intrusted with three Commissioners. They likewise caused the King's arms to be pulled down every where, and the King's picture in the old Exchange they caused to be defaced, and the following inscription to be set behind it in golden letters : *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliæ Restitutæ Primo Anno 1648, January 30.*

They next proceed to erect another illegal High Court of Justice, wherein they brought to trial Duke Hamilton, taken at the fight at Preston ; the Earl of Holland, at Kingston fight ; and the Lord Capell and Lord Goring, taken at the siege of Colchester : the three first were condemned and beheaded at the Palace-yard, at Westminster. After this the Ford Fairfax having laid down his commission, the Parliament made Oliver Cromwell their General, who, a while after, was sent into Ireland, where he proved very successful.

His Majesty was now in France, and hoped to get aid there, but found none ; but the Junto proceeded to make sale of the King and Queen's land, and made a formal act for abolishing Kingly government and disinheriting the royal issue, and setting up a Republic or Free State. This act Alderman Reynardson was commanded to proclaim in the city ; which he refusing, was committed to the Tower, with three

Aldermen more; and a new Lord Mayor was chosen by a Common Hall, who attended with several other Aldermen as compliant as himself, readily obeyed the commands of his masters, and proclaimed their edict in several places of the city.

Nor could the possession of one rich kingdom satisfy the aspiring minds of the usurpers; England was already wholly subjected to their power, Scotland not yet mature for invasion; Ireland is next the object of their ambition; for the Marquis of Ormond, being made Lord Lieutenant by the late King, and seeing a necessity of closing with the confederated Irish, and uniting all interests there, against the common enemy, he concluded a peace with the most considerable party of the confederates, upon their submission, and the profession of their obedience to his Majesty; and on the Marquis's part, the concession of certain articles, which, according to the necessity of affairs, yielded them many ample privileges and advantages. Having got together a considerable number of forces, and being also assisted by the Lord Inchiquin, the Marquis of Clanrickard, and the Earl of Castlehaven, the Lord Lieutenant designed to reduce those places in Ireland, which yet held out for the English Republic, which are only Dublin, Londonderry, Trim, and Tredagh, of any regard; of which the three last upon a defeat, surrendered to the King's forces: but Dublin being of chiefest consequence, the Lord Lieutenant endeavoured to gain it by all means possible. Colonel Michael Jones was Governor, and the Marquis with the conjunction of Taffe, Preston, and others of the confederate Irish forces that had declared for the King, made up a gallant army, a richer having scarce been seen in all the late wars. June 29, 1649, the siege began, and had in all probability succeeded, but for the differences and animosities between the English and Irish commanders; and likewise the Lord Lieutenant's unwillingness to attack the city, out of a tender respect to the Protestants within; the necessity also of drawing off some part of the forces for the defence of Munster against the English; and on the other side the unanimity among the garrison soldiers within the city, and the vigilance and courage of their Governor; emboldened by these considerations, the besieged took courage first with slight excursions, and afterwards having discovered the security and careless posture of those that were set to guard a certain fort which they attempted, they with their whole strength sallied out upon them, not fearing to venture even upon the main army; and so far did Fortune favour this their bold attempt, that being encouraged by the weak resistance they met with to venture further on; in a short

while they utterly defeated them, with little loss on their own side, killing and taking very many prisoners, and possessing themselves entirely of the whole camp, abounding in very rich booty, and plenty of all things, the Marquis himself hardly escaping.

Soon after, the siege of Londonderry was raised by Sir Charles Coot; and Cromwell is sent into Ireland with four regiments of horse, seven regiments of foot, and one of dragoons, being invested with the title of Lord Governor or Lieutenant of Ireland; next to whom in power was his son-in-law Ireton, who, with forty sail of ships, transported the army.

Cromwell after a short stay in Dublin, marched with great expedition to Drogheda, or Tredagh, which had been reinforced by the Marquis of Ormond with a supply of 2500 foot, and 300 horse of the choicest of his forces, with divers resolute and stout commanders, among whom Sir Arthur Aston, heretofore Governor of Reading for the late King, was made Governor: there wanted in the defendants neither courage nor fidelity for keeping the town; but such was the force and fortune of the assailants, that after several furious and successful onsets, which cost them dear enough, the town was at last taken by storm, and in revenge of their resolute standing out, Sir Arthur Aston, Sir Ed. Vamey, Colonel Warren, Tempest Finglas, with other chief commanders, and all the rest that were within the town, whether garrison soldiers or inhabitants, were by Cromwell's order, far unbecoming the zeal and religion he pretended, put all to the sword, except some very few persons who hid themselves till the revenge was over, and the edge of destroying fury abated. Wexford was next surprised by the treachery of one Stafford, the Governor, even in the very sight of the Marquis of Ormond, who came to relieve it. Then followed the taking of Ross, Kilkenny, Canick, and the rest of the most important towns and castles in all parts of Ireland; besides several field fights successfully fought by the Lord Broghil, Sir Charles Coot, Colonels Zanchy, Reynolds, Hewson, and Venables; and no great wonder, since they were continually supplied by their masters in England, a competent number of ships attending on that occasion; on the other side many resolute attempts were made by the Lord Lieutenant, and other maintainers of the royal interest; but through the shortness of pay, increasing of divisions among them, and want of the King's presence, which was much desired, and was judged would have very much conduced to his interest in that kingdom; from those discouragements, not only

great numbers of their men, but towns and cities fell off to the well paid, and therefore prevailing side; so that in less than a year, all Ireland was in a manner totally subdued to the power of the republic.

About this time the King's fleet under Prince Rupert is ruined by several misfortunes, and Prince Maurice his brother, was cast away in the Vice Admiral.

The Parliament of Scotland had resolved some time since to own and treat with his present Majesty, and he was solemnly proclaimed by their order at Edinburgh, February 3, 1648, and in September following, after great debates among them, Mr. Windram, Laird of Libberton, was appointed Messenger. His Majesty had staid some time at St. Germain's, in France, in expectation of some message; which not receiving, he takes his leave of the Queen mother, and the French Court, and steers his course for the Isle of Jersey, as most commodious for the Scotch Commissioners. Upon his first arrival in the island he was proclaimed King, and the Lord Jermyn was appointed Governor of the island: here the Lord Windram found his Majesty, and presented him with the desires and offers of the States of Scotland, which were to this effect: That his Majesty would sign the solemn league and covenant, and pass an act for all persons to take it throughout the kingdom of Scotland, and confirm all that had been done there concerning the same; that he would withdraw his commissions from the Marquis of Montross; that he would put away all Papists from about him, and let none be of his council but known Protestants, with several other particulars; and at last after many consultations, Breda, in Holland, was appointed for the place of a solemn treaty, where Commissioners from the State and Kirk met the King.

At this time his Majesty had Ambassadors and Envoys residing in the Courts of several great Princes and States, as at Moscow, Venice, Germany, Turkey, and Spain, to solicit their aid and assistance for the recovery of his father's kingdoms: many compliments no doubt they received, and many fair pretences of their good will to help him, as the custom of the world is, as well among Princes as those of lower degree, but for the most part little or nothing beside; so little regarded is the condition of a person depressed in fortune, though a Prince; the most solemn embassy, and of which there was most hope, was that to the King of Spain, which how it succeeded will appear by the answer

given to the Lord Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde, his Majesty's Ambassadors to that King, who at length were admitted to have audience.

The substance of the embassy was, 1. That the Parliament of England having been in arms against his father, had prevailed against him, and caused him to be put to death. 2. That he being the son and heir of the said Charles late King of Great Britain and Ireland, was kept out of his kingdoms by the said Parliament. 3. That he desired his neighbourly assistance, that he would afford him what aid he could to establish him into his rights and dignities in the kingdom; To this the King of Spain made answer; That he was sorry for his father's ill success, wishing that he had been more prosperous. 2. That he condoled with him for his father's death, and was much affected with sorrow at the manner of it. 3. That concerning the difference between him and the Parliament, and the right on the one and the other side, they being matters out of his territories and jurisdictions, he could not take cognizance of them, nor should he meddle therein; but for any thing within his own dominions, he should be willing to do him what lawful favour he could.

It is in vain to sue for help to those, against whose interest it is to afford it; this King, notwithstanding the sorrow he professed for his late Majesty's death, thinking it most for his profit to comply with the prevailing party, was the first that owned the power of the English Commonwealth, and shewed himself desirous to enter into a league with them.

During the Scots treaty, the Marquis of Montross was seized in Scotland, and for opposing the Kirk party, was condemned and executed upon a gibbet near fifty feet high, with all imaginable contempt; which his Majesty having an account of, was much troubled, and the treaty had like to have been broken off, but at length through the necessity of affairs was concluded, and being carried to Edinburgh, after much debate it was resolved, another message should be sent to invite the King over; but the Parliament here in England having notice of these proceedings in Scotland, prepared an army thereupon to invade Scotland, under the command of their General Oliver Cromwell.

And now the King being arrived at Spey, in the north of Scotland, some Lords were sent down to accompany him to Edinburgh: as he come along he was entertained with the general joy of all the people,

and at Aberdeen he was presented with 1500*l.* which thing was ill taken by the Committee of Estates; and therefore they sent an injunction to prevent other places from doing the like. The King being now come to Edinburgh, was again proclaimed King, July 15, 1650, but his coronation was deferred by reason of the then troubles, since the English army was upon the borders, and the Scots now began to think how to defend themselves, and therefore marched under the command of Montgomery, and set upon the English at Muscleborough, but were worsted by them; and at Dunbar, the English wholly routed them, taking the pass there.

At the same time the Scots were divided among themselves into three parties; but the King returning with Montgomery to St. Johnston, they were all reconciled, and the King on January 1, 1650, was crowned at Scone; and soon after set up his standard at Aberdeen, resolving to be himself Generalissimo of the Scotch army. About which time Sir Henry Hyde was beheaded at London for his loyalty; and not long after Captain Brown; Bushell received the like doom for performing some signal services to the King; the King began to fortify Sterling, and the English drew near it: and Cromwell perceiving he could not draw the Scots to a field battle, suddenly transported over Fife 1600 foot, and four troops of horse, who with the help of Lambert and Okey, routed the Scots under Sir John Brown, taking him and several other persons of quality prisoners; killing 2000 on the place, and taking about 120 prisoners. Not long after Mr. Gibbons and Mr. Love were beheaded on Tower Hill, upon the discovery of a plot in England against the Parliament, by the Presbyterians.

The King seeing the English prevail so fast, thought it best to quit Scotland, and so marched for England, July 30, 1651, which Cromwell observing, sent Lambert after him with a select party of horse.

The King's army being now in England, the Parliament caused numerous forces to be raised in most counties in England, and his Majesty marched on to Worcester, and fortified it. In the mean time Major-General Lambert gained the pass at Upton, by a desperate attempt, in causing some of his troopers to swim the river on horseback, carrying their pistols and holsters in their hands to save them from wet, whereby they put Major-General Massey and his men to the retreat, so that the King's party was forced to quit the town, and leave the pass to the Parliamentarians, who quickly made a bridge over the river; and

Cromwell joining with the rest of the forces against the King, after some sallies out of the town against them ; at length the King in the front of his men, sallied out of Town on September 3, 1651, and so valiantly charged Cromwell's life-guard, that they were forced to retire, till seconded by fresh forces, they put the King's party to the retreat ; and the King had his horse twice shot under him, and not able to rally again, they were forced to fly into the town, where Cromwell's party entered pell-mell with them, and then the cry went, Save the King, save the King.

The King seeing all lost, with some of his nobles and servants, escaped with much difficulty to a farmer's house in Staffordshire, where he disrobed himself, and for want of soissars, had his hair cut off with a knife ; and so with the company of one friend (who brought him provisions towards night), he betook himself to a wood, where he made an oak his palace ; the soldiers hunting about for him, and a thousand pounds promised as a reward to those that could take him. It is supposed there were about 3000 slain at Worcester, and 700 taken prisoners, and not long after the Earl of Derby, who was one of them, was beheaded at Bolton in Lancashire.

His Majesty through many dangers and difficulties arrived at last safely at Paris in France : and awhile after Oliver Cromwell, April 20, 1653, dissolved the long Parliament, which had sat twelve years, six months, and seventeen days. In this year and the next, there were five bloody engagements at sea against the Dutch, in most of which the English were victorious.

Oliver Cromwell called another Junto this year, which was termed the Little Parliament, who sat some short time, and then delivered back their power to him from whom they had received it. And December 16, 1653, Cromwell was sworn Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. And so the government was now again in a single person ; and in April after, the Protector concluded a peace with the Dutch, whose aid and assistance the King had strongly solicited against him.

His Majesty after this, sought a reconciliation between France and Spain, and hoping thereby to further his own interest, he left France, and departed for Germany, accompanied with his cousin Prince Rupert ; about which time Cromwell had discovered a plot in England.

against his authority ; and Colonel Gerrard and Mr. Vowell suffered for the same on Tower Hill ; and on the same day, Don Panteleon Sa, a Knight brother to the bassador, for a gentleman in change, whom enfortheafore-rard, between self a dispute place, when he next day with ed, and mis-gentleman for murdered him, several others their own de-which the ser-hanged at Ty-Don beheaded Scotland began against the Earl Monro, and ving gotten gather, intend-secuted the but they were Monk and



PANTELEON SA.

Don Panteleon of Malta, and Portugal Am-the murder of the new Ex-he had mistak-said Col. Ger-whom and him-are in that returned the servants arm-taking another Gerrard, they and wounded that stood in fence, for vants were burn, and the on Tower Hill. likewise to stir of Glencarn, Middleton has-some forces to-ed to have pro-King's cause, routed by Gen. Col. Morgan.

According to the treaty with France, Cromwell sent over some forces to aid the French in his wars against Flanders, and the English were to have Dunkirk in consideration thereof, which upon taking of it was accordingly delivered. In the same year, 1656, Cromwell, by a Parliament garbled to his mind, was installed Lord Protector in Westminster Hall : and awhile after another plot was discovered ; Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewet, Mr. Aston, and Mr. Stacey, suffered death upon the same account ; the two first being beheaded, and the others drawn, hanged and quartered, being charged to be concerned therein.

Upon September 3, 1658, Oliver Cromwell departed this life in Whitehall, and lay in state in Somerset House till November 23, fol-

lowing, when he was buried with great pomp in Westminster Abbey: After whom his son Richard succeeded, but was soon thrust out of his Protectorship by Fleetwood and Lambert; who with the rest of the army, called the Long Parliament again. After which several gentlemen in Cheshire, under the conduct of Sir George Booth, rose for defence of their privileges, but were defeated by Lambert; who soon after turned out this remnant of the Long Parliament again, and erected a government which they called a Committee of Safety. All which revolutions still advanced the King's cause. Lambert now marches north as far as Newcastle to fight with General Monk, but his men were unwilling to engage; and in the mean time the remainder of the Long Parliament had again gotten together, and dissolved the Committee of Safety, and then invited General Monk to march with his army to London, which he did accordingly, and was received with joy, and soon after he procured the dissolution of that Long Parliament; and he calling another upon April 25, 1660, his Majesty having notice thereof, sent several letters to the Lords, Commons, General Monk, &c. and likewise his gracious declaration to all his loving subjects, as followeth:

‘ CHARLES R.

‘ Charles, by the grace of God King of England, &c. defender of the faith, &c. To all our loving subjects of what degree or quality soever, greeting. If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing, that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose: however, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare, how much we desire to contribute thereunto, and that as we can never give over the hope, in good time to obtain the possession of that right which God and Nature hath made our due, so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence, that he will in compassion to us and our subjects, and after so long misery and sufferings, remit and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and a damage to our people as is possible; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and intire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

‘ And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country in the restoration both of King, Peers, and People, to the just, ancient,

and fundamental rights, we do by these presents declare that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of England, to all our subjects of what degree or quality soever, who within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall by any public act declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects: excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament; those only excepted, let all our subjects however faulty soever rely upon the word of a King, solemnly given by this present declaration, that no crime whatsoever committed against us or our royal father, before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question against any of them, to the least endamage of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach, or term of distinction from the rest of any of our best subjects; we desiring and ordaining, that henceforth all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties, be utterly abolished amongst all our subjects, whom we invite, and conjure to a perfect union amongst themselves, under your protection, for the resettlement of our just rights and theirs, in a free Parliament, by which upon the word of a King we will be advised.

‘ And because the passion, and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood; we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the free granting that indulgence.

‘ And because in the continual distractions of so many years and so many great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to, and by many officers, soldiers, and others who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles: we are likewise willing, that all such differences, and all things relating to the said grants, sales, and purchases shall be determined in Parliament, which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

‘ And we do further declare, that we will be ready to consent to any act or acts of Parliament to the purposes aforesaid; and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army

under the command of General Monk, and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

‘ Given under our sign manual and primary signet, at our Court at Breda, 14th day of April, 1660, in the 12th year of our reign.’

The Parliament being sat, unanimously voted the restoration of his Majesty to his kingdom, and accordingly upon May 29 following, the King, accompanied with the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and attended with several Lords and Gentlemen arrived at Dover, where he was met by divers noble personages, and among the rest General Monk, who was dignified with the George and Garter.

In October following, several of the regicides of the late King were tried in the Old Bailey; and ten of them executed at Charing-Cross; that is Tho. Harrison, Jo. Carew, Adr. Scroop, Jo. Jones, Greg. Clement, Tho. Scot, J. Cook, Hugh Peters, Fran. Hacker, and D. Axtel.

Mary Princess of Orange coming over to visit the King her brother, fell sick of the small pox, and died; and in January after, one Venner,



THO. VANNER.

a wine-cooper, and some others in whom he had infused enthusiastic principles, put themselves in arms, and came into the city, but being

opposed, they killed twenty-two of his Majesty's subjects, and about as many of them were slain, and the rest were taken and dispersed; eleven of whom, and Venner their leader, were executed in several places in the city.

In the beginning of the next year, Prince Henry Duke of Gloucester died; and upon April 23 following, being St. George's day, his Majesty King Charles the II^d. was crowned at Westminster with great splendor and solemnity; having the day before made a magnificent passage from the Tower through the City of London (where four curious pageants were erected) to Whitehall. And here we shall conclude this abstract of so many various affairs, wishing all happiness to his Majesty, and the preservation of the Protestant religion for ever.

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